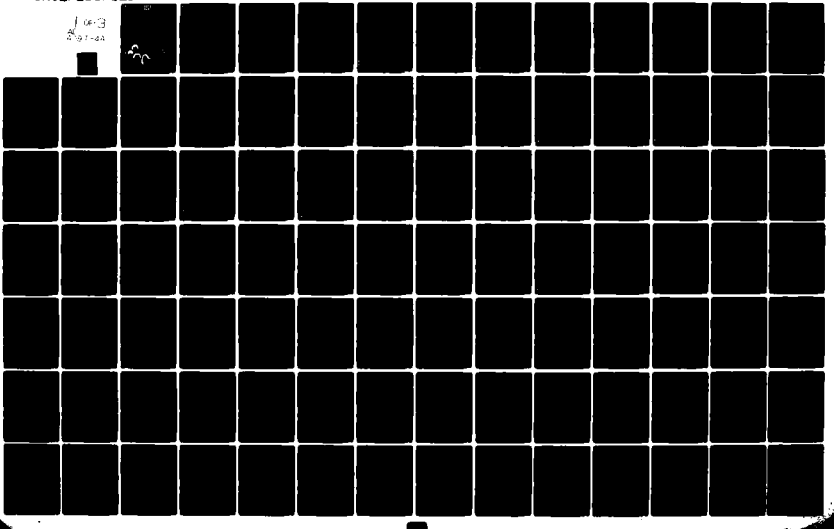
AD-A097 944 CZA INC WASHINGTON DC F/G 5/10
PAPERS FROM A SEMINAR ON HETEOGENEITY IN THE WORKPLACE AND PROD--ETC(U)
APR 81 C ALDERFER, C H CHERTOS, M A CHESLER N00014-80-C-0625
UNCLASSIFIED TR-1 NL



PAPERS FROM A SEMINAR ON

"HETEROGENEITY IN THE WORKPLACE AND PRODUCTIVITY"

Clayton /Alderfer
Cynthia H. /Chertos
Mark A. /Chesler
Harry /Katz
Richard / Thomas

Sponsored by

The Office of Naval Research
and
The Center for
Minority Group Mental Health Programs,
NIMH
at
The University of the District of Columbia,
Washington, D.C.

August 21-23, 1980

Conducted by CZA, Inc. Washington, D.C. 20007

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE *(When Data Entered)*

REPORT DOCUMENTATION PAGE

READ INSTRUCTIONS BEFORE COMPLETING FORM

1. REPORT NUMBER: 1.	2. GOVT ACCESSION NO.: AD-A097 944
3. RECIPIENT'S CATALOG NUMBER:	
4. TITLE *(and Subtitle)*: Papers from a Seminar on "Heterogeneity in the Workplace and Productivity"	5. TYPE OF REPORT & PERIOD COVERED: Technical Report, August 21-23, 1980.
	6. PERFORMING ORG. REPORT NUMBER:
7. AUTHOR(s): Clayton Alderfer, Cynthia H. Chertos, Mark A. Chesler, Harry Katz, Richard Thomas, Miguel Tirado, Harry C. Triandis	8. CONTRACT OR GRANT NUMBER(s): N00014-80-C-0625 new
9. PERFORMING ORGANIZATION NAME AND ADDRESS: [illegible]	10. PROGRAM ELEMENT, PROJECT, TASK AREA & WORK UNIT NUMBERS: 61153N 42 NR 170-916 RR04208 RH-MH-80-6 RR0420801
11. CONTROLLING OFFICE NAME AND ADDRESS: Dr. Bert T. King, Code 452 Office of Naval Research Department of the Navy, Arlington, VA 22217	12. REPORT DATE: April 7, 1981.
	13. NUMBER OF PAGES: 211
14. MONITORING AGENCY NAME & ADDRESS *(if different from Controlling Office)*:	15. SECURITY CLASS. *(of this report)*: Unclassified
	15a. DECLASSIFICATION/DOWNGRADING SCHEDULE:

16. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT *(of this Report)*

Copies of this report have been distributed by the contractor to the recipients required by the contract and to all seminar participants. It is approved for public release; distribution unlimited.

17. DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT *(of the abstract entered in Block 20, if different from Report)*

18. SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES

19. KEY WORDS *(Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)*

(U)Affirmative Action; (U) Equal Employment Opportunity; (U)Productivity; (U) Heterogeneity.

20. ABSTRACT *(Continue on reverse side if necessary and identify by block number)*

This report contains an introduction to the background of the seminar and seven papers dealing with issues around research in the area of Heterogeneity and Productivity as they relate to affirmative action and equal employment opportunity. The report concludes with a panel discussion and a list of participants.

DD FORM 1 JAN 73 1473 EDITION OF 1 NOV 65 IS OBSOLETE

S/N 0102-LF-014-6601

Unclassified

SECURITY CLASSIFICATION OF THIS PAGE *(When Data Entered)*

CZA Incorporated

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Introduction i

Richard W. Thomas

Biographical Sketch

Introduction

Historical Foundations of the Racial and Sexual Revolutions in the Workplace 1

Harry C. Triandis

Biographical Sketch

Introduction

Heterogeneity in the Workforce and Productivity: A Review 37

Mark A. Chesler and Cynthia Chertos

Biographical Sketch

Introduction

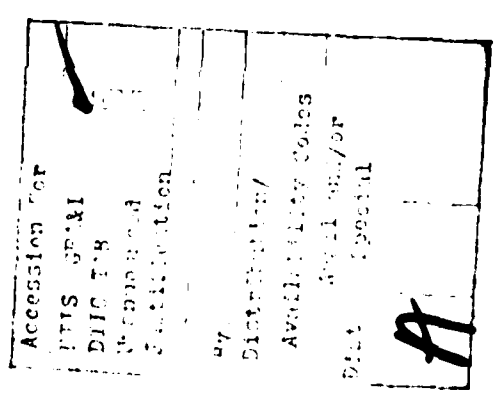
Affirmative Action and the Continuing Agenda: Anti-Racism & Anti-Sexism Efforts in Organizations 68

Miguel D. Tirado

Biographical Sketch

Introduction

Minority Attitudes and Behavior in the Workplace - The Case of the Hispanic Worker 104



Harry C. Katz

Biographical Sketch

Introduction

Ethnic Diversity and Public Sector Labor Relations 115

Clayton P. Alderfer

Biographical Sketch

Introduction

Measuring Black and White Perceptions of Racial Dynamics in Management 141

Panel Discussion: "What Should A Research Agenda For The Next Decade Contain?" 189

List of Seminar Participants 210

Background

Few people in the United States and even fewer organizations have exhibited a sustained interest in the effects that affirmative action programs and efforts have had in increasing the heterogeneity of the American workforce. The opening up of equal access to work opportunities has had a significant impact on the work environment in terms of management practices and productivity. While both have been affected, in keeping with our national employment laws, in positive ways by a correlation between heterogeneity in the workplace and productivity, negative effects have resulted during the present transition process towards true equal opportunity. Courts and federal agencies are literally clogged with thousands of employment discrimination cases, and managers have been forced, sometimes reluctantly, to begin to organize along the lines of true meritocratic principles which are now being developed.

It is noteworthy that over the past eight or ten years military organizations and the National Institute of Mental Health (NIMH) have been instrumental in keeping alive what little interest there has been in this momentous historical event that is changing radically the composition of the American workplace and helping to define American Democracy.

Regardless of whether or not this great movement is adequately tracked, monitored and maintained, the increasing heterogeneity of the American workforce will present great challenges to our industrial, labor and political leaders during the Eighties. Thus it is good for the nation that the Office of Naval Research (ONR) and the Center for Minority Group Programs (CMGMHP) of NIH sponsored a project to identify needed research in the areas of heterogeneity and productivity in the workforce.

CZA Incorporated

The history of man's inhumanity to man on this planet is long. It includes wholesale purges of entire ethnic populations in Russia and China, the chattelizing of blacks under slavery in the United States, the extermination of the ethnic tribes of New Zealand by English settlers, the banning of the Zulus in South Africa by the Afrikaners, the subordination and exclusion of Irish Catholics from participation in the economic and political life of Ireland by the Protestant Irish and the British Government, the banishment of scores of Native American tribes to reservations in the United States, the internment of Japanese Americans during World War II, and Hitler's attempt to exterminate the Jews of Europe during World War II. To this list may be added the effects of the continuing exclusion of minorities and women from the more desirable, better paying jobs and professions in America. For it is inimical to the national interest and democratic principles to deny to any citizen of the United States the means to achievement of decent health, education and livelihood.

Responding to a proposal made by CZA Incorporated, ONR and CMGMHP co-sponsored a seminar on "Heterogeneity in the Workplace and Productivity" because ONR's effort has been to lead research efforts from intergroup relations and the dynamics of interactions between persons of different racial and ethnic groups into the next developmental stages and NIMH has been concerned with the effects of discrimination on people in a broad range of institutions. While ONR's interests were distinguished by a focus on performance and productivity, the overlap was a mutual concern with the effectiveness of organizations composed of persons with diverse backgrounds.

CZA's interest was that while there are many factors contributing to the decline in productivity in the United States, the opponents of affirmative action have singled out heterogeneity as the primary one.

The concept of the Seminar was formulated and refined with James R. Ralph, M.D., Chief, Center for Minority Group Mental Health Programs; V. Robert Hayles, Ph.D., Associate Director, Organizational Effectiveness Research Programs; and Richard M. Shapiro, Assistant Chief, Racism and Mental Health, CMGMHP.

The Planning Committee agreed that we should seek representation across the spectrum of racial groups affected in the workplace, and seek especially to have representation of women. This proved nearly impossible. Many authors and researchers were contacted. Most had interesting, sometimes controversial, and sometimes daring hypotheses, theories and research papers to offer. Given the complexity and scope of the issues to be addressed, it was difficult for us to select what we considered a right mix. But, we think we succeeded in obtaining a representative group of researchers from among the best available social scientists in the United States. Their ideas, thoughts and recommendations for the Eighties are found throughout their papers and in the discussion that followed. We trust that the researchers, practitioners, planners and managers in the field of race training, education and research will profit from reading these thoughtful and provocative papers as we did from organizing, editing and presenting them.

CZA Incorporated

Lisle Carter, President of the University of the District of Columbia, generously arranged the full hospitality of his campus even though it was in the middle of a registration process and major construction was in progress. We thank all of the many faculty and staff at UDC who helped us.

Tressie W. Muldrow who was then chairing a government-wide task force on alternatives to written tests was our luncheon speaker. We are grateful to her for taking time out from her busy schedule to share with our group of managers, practitioners and researchers the functions and problems of the group at the Office of Personnel Management which is attempting to develop policy in the area of testing and employee selections. We regret that her presentation was not cleared for publication.

Setsuko Nishi was unable to refine her presentation for inclusion in this report because of an overwhelming burden of personal and professional commitments that developed during and after the seminar.

Pamela Wilmore was responsible for coordinating all arrangements and administrative details for the seminar for CZA. She did this in her usual effective and cheerful way and was truly instrumental to the success of the seminar.

The report that follows is organized so that each author is introduced with a short biographical sketch; a general summary of the paper is given, and the paper follows. The panel discussion beginning on page 189 generally reaffirms the ideas, position and recommendations made by the presentors in their papers and the List of Participants follows. It is left to the readers to judge, evaluate and utilize the results that flowed from the seminar.

John F. Coffey

RICHARD THOMAS received his Ph. D. in American History and Labor and Race Relations from the University of Michigan. He continued to explore racial issues in labor relations and produced numerous papers and articles on the subject. Among these were: "The First Urban Guardian: The Detroit Urban League," "Working and Lower Class Origins of Black Culture: Class Formation and the Division of Cultural Labor," "Industrial Capitalism, Intra Class Racial Conflict and the Formation of Black Working Class Political Culture," and "The Black Urban Experience in Industrial Detroit," co-authored with Homer Hawkins. With his wife, June Thomas, he also co-authored "Towards a Non-Racist Future." He also wrote a chapter on employment in Discrimination and the Welfare of Urban Minorities, Robert L. Green, et. al., a special study for the Department of Housing and Urban Development. He has lectured widely: on Racial Changes in the Workplace at the University of Toledo Law School and the State of Michigan Department of Public Health, on International Racism for the U.S. Air Force at Lakenheath, England, and elsewhere. He continues his pursuits on the labor topics as Associate Professor, Department of Racial and Ethnic Studies in the College of Urban Development at Michigan State University at East Lansing.

His poetry appears in several anthologies and digests, and he brings the qualities of a poet and scholar to this seminar.

Richard W. Thomas offers herewith, based on his documentation of the history of working practices and conditions in the United States, a powerful and candid assessment of the future affects of increased heterogeneity in the workplace, and the resultant effect on productivity of work groups that are more heterogeneous.

Unless effectively refuted by the *controlling white male hegemonies* of American government, industry and labor, this history will stand as a continuing indictment of our distinct American commitment to justice, fair play and equal opportunity in employment; an indictment of public and private support of Title VII of the Civil Rights Act of 1964: the Law of the Land.

CZA Incorporated

HISTORICAL FOUNDATIONS OF THE RACIAL AND SEXUAL REVOLUTIONS IN THE WORKPLACE

Richard W. Thomas

Historical Foundations of the Racial and Sexual Revolutions
in the American Workplace

Introduction: The concern with increased diversity in the workplace as it relates to productivity ultimately must start with the question of the unequal distribution of power and privilege in the workplace and the racial and sexual revolution which it has spawned. Those of us who teach and write in the field of race and ethnic relations have known for years that racism and sexism have been the major barriers to increased diversity and harmony in the workplace. We have also known that racism and sexism have deep roots in the hostory of white male dominance and control in American society. These roots are shared by white males from the highest corporate levels to the lowest production job. We also know that racism and sexism are the twin evils of American culture. The traditions of racism and sexism have protected white males from competing with minorities and women in the workplace.

During the last two decades racial minorities and women have effectively challenged the tradition of white skin male dominance and control in the workplace. We call this challenge the racial and sexual revolution because of its far reaching ramifications in the workplace and the larger society. The racial and sexual revolution has set into motion very powerful and potentially disruptive forces which, if they are not understood and reconciled, will disrupt every workplace in which racial minorities and women are presently struggling against white male hegemony. We cannot entertain any illusions that increasing heterogeneity

in the workplace will proceed without great conflicts. Nor can we ignore the fact that much of the conflict will come from the ranks of white males who will have to relinquish certain time-honored privileges if increased heterogeneity and productivity are to occur on a sustained basis. If history offers any light on this subject it strongly suggests that privileges have rarely been relinquished without bitter conflicts.

In short, the racial and sexual revolution in the workplace is threatening the traditional privileges of many white males who perceive it to be an assault upon their traditional rights. Thus, they resist it. Racial minorities and women rightly perceive the resistance of white males as an entrenchment of their traditional dominance and control in the workplace. Thus, the circle of conflict continues, and harmony and productivity are willingly sacrificed by the contending groups.

How then can we resolve this problem? Obviously there are no easy answers. But there are some approaches which can aid us in understanding how the problem began. We must begin by understanding the history of the major social forces which contributed to the present war in the workplace.

There are four historical developments which are essential to know before we can confidently build this new knowledge base. The first is the historical development of white male dominance and control in the workplace. Such dominance and control not only effectively protects white males from competition on an equal footing with racial minorities, but also has installed in white males a "false consciousness" of white skin privileges which they very early assumed to be their "special right" in the workplace. Much of the white male resistance to the recent gains of racial minorities and women in the workplace can be traced to this,

at times, unconscious notion that white males are entitled to special privileges.

The second historical development that we must be familiar with is the reaction to white male dominance and control on the part of blacks. As white males began to extend their dominance and control throughout the workplace, black males were forced to counter with a wide range of actions from the forming of independent unions to strikebreaking. As blacks struggled to reduce white male dominance and control, the way was paved for other minorities, particularly women, to enter the workplace in greater numbers. This led not only to greater diversity but also greater conflict in the workplace.

The third historical development is the emergence of the Women's Liberation Movement which began focusing upon white male dominance and control throughout the society. Together with certain segments of the black and other minority movements, and encouraged and supported by new civil rights laws as well as world developments favoring the liberation of women, the Women's Liberation Movement increased the conflicts in the workplace.

The fourth development is the historical response of white males to change -- or perhaps a better way of putting it would be: the white male response to challenges to their dominance, power and privileges in the workplace.

These four historical developments have converged in the present to create endless complications and conflicts in the workplace that have impeded heterogeneity in the workplace and affected productivity in negative ways.

The Roots of White Male Dominance and Control in the Workplace

In a society dominated by a specific racial group it is not uncommon that that group will dominate and control the allocation of choice jobs in the workplace. In all multiracial societies in which whites have predominant economic and political power, white workers have been allocated jobs according to skin color.

African slavery as a social system generated the notion that all labor performed by blacks was lower than white labor. As Winthrop Jordan pointed out: "By the early 1660's, white men were protesting loudly against being made slaves in terms which strongly suggest that they considered slavery not as wrong but as inapplicable to themselves."[1] It did not take long for the idea that slavery was exclusively a condition of black people, to take hold of the public mind. Indeed, it is true that only blacks from among all the races, were made chattel slaves. But somehow the idea got around that slavery and hard work were synonymous with white skin. By the middle of the eighteenth century, South Carolina merchants were finding it necessary to explain to foreign visitors why white workers would not work alongside blacks in the fields unless they owned them. The merchants explained that white workers felt degraded by working alongside blacks and would complain that they were being treated like "Negroes and slaves."[2] (Jordan, 129-30). John C. Calhoun, the Southern slaveholder, explained this white skin privilege in a discussion with John Quincy Adams, the antislavery advocate, in 1820 "Domestic work," explained Calhoun, "was restricted to black slaves." And even he, Calhoun, as popular as he was, could not get away with keeping a white servant.

Manual work was the proper work of slaves and should not be done by whites. "No white person could descend to that," Calhoun explained, "because it is the best guarantee to equality among all whites which produces an unvarying level among them."

The degradation of black labor was not limited to the South. Northern whites also degraded black labor. Nowhere was this clearer than when in 1823 the Senate Foreign Relations Committee opposed the immigration and colonization of American blacks in Africa because they were needed in America to perform all the menial work. The committee stated: "If they would not do all this work, we ourselves would be compelled to do it." A New England journal during this period pointed out the same concern: "... if black workers leave, white workers will have to hew our wood, draw our water, and perform other menial offices. We need black workers," the Journal made clear, "because they occupy the places of so many whites who would be spared for higher purposes."[4]

The free black working class was confined to menial occupations even when they had the training for skilled and semi-skilled work. Both white businessmen and workers accepted the racial myths of the period which stated that the Negro was simply unfit -- physically and mentally -- to perform skilled labor or enter the professions; he was also "untrustworthy, irresponsible, unable to handle complicated machines or run business establishments, and seriously lacking in initiative and ingenuity."[5] No wonder, then, that a contemporary New York merchant felt strongly that black workers should be treated as children in need of adult, white supervision.[6]

These racial sterotypes contributed a great deal to white worker's views of themselves as privileged workers. They were better than black workers not because of their superior working habits or skills but because of their color. Competing with black workers, therefore, was out of the question. One does not compete with an inferior. Of course this racial arrangement was very convenient for white workers because it meant they would not have to compete with black workers over choice jobs. And what made this arrangement even better was that it was supported by public opinion, the legal system, and sheer terrorism. Northern white workers not only "voted against proposals to extend political rights to blacks and successfully eliminated blacks from many low-paying occupations," they also rioted against black residents and chased them out of town.[7]

White workers used everything at their disposal to maintain an advantage over black workers in the workplace. Laws, unions, and apprenticeship programs were all part of the arsenal of white workers to accomplish that purpose. As soon as white workers migrated to the old northwest, they had laws enacted excluding black workers from the territory and went even further by erecting barriers to protect themselves from competing with the black workers already living there.[8] When slavery was abolished and southern white workers were thrown into direct competition with black workers in the new southern mining and industrial towns, the former relied heavily upon Jim Crow laws to protect them against black competition. According to C. Vann Woodward "...as the two races were brought into rivalry for subsistence wages in the cotton fields, mines , and wharves, the lowerclass white man's demand for Jim Crow laws became more insistent."[9]

White workers, North and South, did not trust the laws of the market place to determine the better worker. They relied on the ideology and politics of racism to aid them in those quarters where black brawn and spirit might get the upper hand. Jim Crow laws were only the beginning. More effective mechanisms by which generations of white males would be protected from competing with black workers would come later.

The end of the Civil War opened up a new era in interracial conflict within the American workplace. White workers in the North and South began developing and consolidating institutional mechanisms designed to protect their advantage in the workplace. Southern white workers had both their Jim Crow laws and racist unions, northern white workers had mainly their unions, complete with informal and formal means of racial exclusion. By union constitution and ritual, these unions perfected *the means of pushing* blacks to the very edge of the workplace, into the dangerous and dirty jobs, those that white workers did not want. As more and more white workers organized unions to fight against exploitation by employers, the same unions also dominated and controled blacks in the workplace.

In 1899 the Brotherhood of Railway Clerks (BRC), following on the heels of other railroad unions, included a "whites only" clause in its constitution. The Boilermakers had racial clauses from the very beginning of their union. The International Association of Machinists (IAM) formally excluded black workers from membership from 1888 when it was founded until 1948, when the racial bar was eliminated.[10] These unions reflected a general pattern of racism which would soon affect major sectors of the workplace. By 1930 the following unions barred blacks

1

from membership: Brotherhood of Railway Carmen (BRC), The Switchmen's Union of North American (SUNA), The Order of Sleeping Car Conductors (OSCC), The National Organization of Masters, Mates, and Pilots of North America (NOMMPNA), The Railway Mail Association (RMA), American Wire Weavers Protective Association (AWWPA), Commercial Telegraphers (CT), The Boilermakers, Iron Shipbuilders and Helpers Union (BISHU), The International Association of Machinists (IAM), The Order of Railway Railroad Telegraphers (ORRT), and the Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks (BRSC).

The following unaffiliated union were listed as having racial bars in 1930: American Federation of Express Workers (AFEW), American Federation of Railway Workers (AFRW), Brotherhood of Railway Station Employees and Clerks (BRSEC), American Train Dispatchers Association (ATDA), Railroad Yard Masters of America (RYMA), Neptune Association, Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers (BLE), Brotherhood of Railway Conductors (BRC), Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen (BLFE), Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen (BRT), Order of Railway Telegraphers (ORT), Brotherhood of Dining Car Conductors (BDCC), and Order of Railway Expressmen (ORE).

Not until 1963 did the last AFL-CIO affiliate remove its racial bars.[12] Before this time, several generations of black workers were denied the opportunity to compete with white workers.

Another mechanism used by whites to maintain control of the workplace was the use of auxiliary and segregated locals. Unions which did not bar black workers from membership confined them to auxiliary locals which did not provide black members with privileges and protection equal to those enjoyed by white members of the parent body. Segregated locals

were not much different in function and purpose from the auxiliary locals. Theoretically, segregated locals had equal status and separate charters, but power still remained in the hands of the white parent body which did the bargaining for blacks. In some cases, white employers and workers would make decisions affecting black workers without consulting them. These practices also lasted for generations and were not discontinued until the late 1950s. Even then a few black auxiliaries remained.[13]

One would think that formal and informal racial exclusion in auxiliary and segregated union locals would have provided sufficient mechanisms to control black workers. But white workers did not stop there. Along with these mechanisms were placed restrictions against black apprentices and segregation of vocational schools. By limiting the number of black apprentices, white workers could provide more slots for young white workers. And by segregating vocational schools, whites confined black youth to traditional occupations. Both white unions and management, however, have been responsible for excluding black workers from apprenticeship programs. "...There can be little question," Ray Marshall argued, "that racial prejudices and discrimination by unions and management...have been major reasons for the absence of Negroes from apprenticeship programs."[14] Both white unions and management dragged their feet for as long as they could before finally giving ground on equal opportunity in apprenticeship programs. In the meanwhile, many job opportunities for blacks were lost.

When the above means of controlling black workers fell short of total effectiveness, white workers resorted to strikes and walkouts which forced white employers to either confine black workers to "nigger

jobs" or fire them outright. During the 1930s in St. Louis, whites working on a two million dollar hospital for blacks in the center of a black neighborhood went on strike because the General Tile Company hired a black worker to set tile. This so intimidated other contractors that they were reluctant to hire black workers. In response to pressure from white workers, the building committee of the St. Louis Board of Education would not hire black workers to do repair work on the city's seventeen black high schools. Soon other large contractors were forced into line and St. Louis's black mechanics "were effectively barred from work on everything except small jobs."[15]

This story could go on in infinite variations on the theme -- for white male white skin privilege was certainly the accepted norm of the day. White male hegemony in the workplace was as natural as the coming and going of the seasons to most people. This hegemony would have gone largely unquestioned and unchallenged if the black Civil Rights Movement had not occurred. It was this Movement which set into motion the major social forces which were to revolutionize the American workplace.

White workers did not relent in their assaults against black workers even during the New Deal. New Deal labor legislation was used by many white unions to consolidate their intra-class racial dominance in the workplace. The National Labor Relations Act, under Section 9 (taken from Section 7a of the National Industrial Recovery Act) granted labor unions the right to be the exclusive collective bargaining agents via governmental certification by the National Labor Relations Board. On its face, this section was good for all labor against the power of anti-union companies. But in the context of organized white working

class racism, section 9 was one more mechanism with which white unions could exclude black workers. Most of the unions within the American Federation of Labor (with the most prominent exception being the United Mine Workers) were racist and did not fail to use the new legislation to enhance white male hegemony in the workplace. An historian of the period pointed out how several white unions used the legislation to further discriminate against black workers:

> During the 1930's several examples of trade unions using their power to force the dismissal of black workers came to the attention of Negro leaders, an experience which understandably served to confirm their original pessimistic suspicions. In Long Island City, New York, the Brotherhood of Electrical Workers, Local No. 3, organized several electrical supply shops, refused membership to the Negro workers already employed there, and used its newly won power to force the managements to discharge several dozen Negro employees. In Manhattan, some locals of the Building Service Employees' Union demanded that employers discharge Negro workers and fill the vacancies with white unionists. As a a result, several hotels, restaurants and

> office buildings were forced to discharge Negro elevator operators and restaurant workers and hire whites....(Ibid., pp. 176-177)

White workers were bent upon consolidating their dominance and control in the workplace by "hook or crook." It was clear to them that workingclass unity did not extend to black workers. The loss in income and personal hardship for black workers as a result of these actions by white workers have yet to be historically assessed, but by any measure, they were high indeed.

During World War II, the Fair Employment Practices Committee provided data showing that railroad unions used the collective bargaining status granted them by the Railway Labor Act (1926) to negotiate segregated and exclusionary agreements with railroad companies. "Here the Railway Labor Act," Herbert Hill states "not only helped maintain employment discrimination but, through its very existence, increased employment discrimination by legally sanctioning the unions' power to displace employed Negroes and transfer their jobs to whites."[16]

In 1941 the Brotherhood of Locomotive Firemen and Enginemen and twenty-one railroad companies negotiated an agreement that would have "systematically eliminated Negroes from the position of firemen." When the white workers negotiated the agreement their unions had a policy which exlcluded blacks from membership. No notice of the agreement was given to the thousands of non-union black firemen who subsequently lost their jobs. But as the result of a suit filed by two black firemen and a three year court battle, the Supreme Court ruled in favor of the black firemen.[17] The ruling made clear that fair representation of all workers,

regardless of race, was implicit in the Railway Labor Act. Yet, the court did not condemn white unions for their racist membership practices.[18]

The ruling did not even dent white male hegemony in the workplace. Even the Congress of Industrial Organizations in its rise failed to seriously challenge the racial privilege of the majority of white workers even though it engaged itself in a courageous struggle against racism. White workers maintained control of all of the best jobs while blacks stayed in the nigger jobs. White workers controlled the union leadership and resisted all efforts to share power. In 1961, six years after the merger of the AFL-CIO, Herbert Hill, then Labor Secretary of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, reported that "efforts to eliminate discriminatory practices within trade unions have been piecemeal and inadequate and usually the result of protests by civil rights agencies acting on behalf of Negro workers."[18] Hill accused the AFL-CIO affiliated unions of racist practices in the following areas: exclusion of blacks from apprenticeship training programs, seperate racial seniority lines in collective bargaining agreements, segregated locals and exclusion of blacks from apprenticeship training programs controlled by labor unions.[19]

In the 1970s, notwithstanding Title VII of the 1964 Civil Rights Act and the 1972 amendments, black workers were still battling against unfair white working class domination and control in the workplace. Throughout the 1960s and 1970s, many white trade unionists, according to labor lawyer William B. Gould, were still resisting:

> The unions, walking in lockstep with their employer counterparts, dug in their heels to litigate against any revision of

> systematic practices which carried forward the effects of past discrimination -- some of the most prominent examples being departmental or job seniority systems negotiated by industrial unions which held blacks in low-level positions. Others were found in work-experience referral procedures and discriminatory apprenticeship barriers adopted by the crafts.[19]

Considering the present economic crisis, within which white workers and minority workers fight for a piece of the "shrinking pie," conflicts will surely increase in the workplace which obviously will affect the nature of heterogeneity and rate of productivity.

The Black Reaction to White Male Hegemony in the Workplace

Beginning in the 1860s, blacks saw clearly what they would have to do if they and future generations were not to be completely dominated and controlled by white males in the workplace. White men were already organizing trade unions to offset the rapidly growing power of the industrial capitalists, but these same white men also would use these same trade unions to exclude black workers from the workplace, to keep it lily-white and male. Continuing a tradition initiated in the 1840s, when blacks from around the country held national conventions to discuss and plan strategies for survival, several hundred blacks assembled in Washington, D.C. in December of 1869 and organized the Colored National Labor Union (CNLU). This was the first time in American history that blacks

from a wide range of trades, occupations, and professions had gathered to discuss "the conditions of black labor in the U.S. and make recommendations on how to improve them."[20] Although the CNLU failed to realize many of its objectives, it triggered a collective spirit of resistance against the rising tide of white racism in the workplace.

Black workers, largely excluded from white trade unions, forced to do menial work or starve, pushed to the wall by European immigrants whose white skins were instant passports to anyplace above them, continued to struggle to hold on to whatever jobs they could find. Oftentimes, blacks had to become strikebreakers, as during the great steel strike of 1919, in order to enter the workplace. When the strike breakers were called "scabs," many responded like Zeedy in Claude McKay's novel:

> "But it ain't decent to scab," said Jake.
>
> "Decent mah black moon!" shouted Zeedy,
>
> "I'll scab through hell to make mah living. Scab job or open shop or union am all the same jobs to me. White men's don't want niggers in them unions nohow. Ain't you a good carpenter? And ain't I a good blacksmith? But kain we get a lookin on our trade heah in this white man's city? Ain't white men's done scabbed niggers out all the jobs they useter hold down heah in this city? Waiter, bootblack, and barber shops? -- I got to live and I'll scab through hell to live."[21]

As the black struggle in the workplace intensified against white male dominance and control, black workers could not help feeling that white workers were worse than white capitalists. At least some white capitalists gave jobs to blacks after they broke strike.

To more effectively struggle against white worker control in the workplace, blacks formed their own independent unions which in time became a major trend in workplaces aroung the nation where whites were engaged in excluding blacks.

The entire black community found itself fighting for the rights of black workers in the workplace. The NAACP and the National Urban League (NUL) with its ties to the business world, fought to enlist black workers into the ranks of organized labor in order to further the economic interests of the larger black community. But the resistance of white workers to any gains for black workers persisted.

The one national black union which was able to offer some resistance to the dominant racist mood was the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Founded by A. Phillip Randolph and others on August 25, 1925 for the purpose of dealing with "...low wages, long hours, lack of adequate rest on trips, lack of bargaining power, and job insecurity in the Porter's work."[22] The Sleeping Car Porters became the vanguard for black working-class struggles. Randolph kept the heat not only on the railroad companies and unions but also on the entire body of the American Federation of Labor. Almost alone and single handedly, Randolph fought the AFofL for close to four decades over the right of black workers to decent jobs.[23] It was mainly through through the work of Randolph that the threatened March-on-Washington in 1941 prompted President Roosevelt to issue his famous Executive Order establishing the Fair Employment Practices Committee.[24]

Throughout World War II the black community fought tooth and nail against both white industrialists and workers who were determined to keep blacks out of defense jobs. In urban communities around the nation, blacks rallied with their white allies in labor, civic and church organizations in an effort to desegregate the workplace. Beginning in 1941, there were pitched battles over the black workers' right to work in defense industries. In January of that year the NAACP sponsored mass meetings in twenty-four states protesting discrimination against blacks in defense jobs. In March, the NUL presented a one hour radio program over CBS featuring prominent persons in various fields of activity who spoke against discrimination. The very next month a six-point program for the greater employment of black labor in industrial phases of national defense was submitted to the Office of Production Management (OPM) by the Committee on Participation of Negroes in the National Defense Program. A new section of the OPM was created by Sidney Hillman, the associate director of Veteran Labor, devoted to the integration of blacks into the national defense system. The section was headed by a black economist named Robert C. Weaver.[25]

These efforts provided some of the necessary groundwork for the later more intense struggles which were to be fought in the workplace. What is important to remember is that this period was the first one in which white male hegemony in the workplace was really seriously challenged. Up to this point, white male workers had the workplace practically to themselves. But the war economy necessitated a change

in the structures and allocations of jobs. Civilian production was converted to war production. Conversion was problemmatic for black workers because they were concentrated in jobs which were being eliminated and were excluded from the newly developing jobs because they were black. If blacks had lacked the training for these jobs, that in itself would have been reason enough for not allowing them into the more skilled white-only jobs. But many blacks were already trained or were being trained; the reason for their continued exclusion was clearly white racism. While the nation was preparing for war production, and defense contractors were clamoring for more skilled men, skilled black workers were being rejected at the gates of many plants. When employers chose not to be subtle, they simply said, "We can't use skilled Negroes."[26] Skilled black workers in Hartford, Chicago, Cleveland, Camden, Pittsburgh, Newport News, Houston, Los Angeles and Detroit were "walking the streets while these communities talked of extreme shortages of skilled workers."[27] This was obviously a situation where productivity was being willingly subordinated to racism. As one writer pointed out:

> That a nation at war would delay the use of its total manpower resources for three years is the most striking instance of the tenacity with which America has clung to its established color-caste system in occupations.[28]

The black community would fight these types of struggles throughout the war, along with battles over housing war workers. And after the war, the struggles continued.

World War II did enable black workers to make some inroads into the jobs that were previously white-only. In many industrial jobs, black workers were no longer confined to the foundries. For example, in the auto industry, black workers did move up the occupational ladder to assembly line work. But it was a struggle all the way. Employers did not wnat a heterogeneous workforce except when diverse racial groups could be pitted against one another to increase productivity. White workers did not want a heterogeneous workplace, if it meant they would have to give up their lily-white occupational preserves. As a result, neither was much concerned with productivity.

Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, black working class leaders continued to struggle for equal rights in the workplace. In June of 1950, several black trade unionists and their white allies met in Chicago at a National Labor Conference for Negro Rights. The major concerns expressed by the assembled blacks (and their white labor and civic allies) were against racism in the unions, factories and apprenticeship programs. The conference adopted a model FEPC clause which they recommended for all union contracts. Several black labor leaders were selected to head a continuation committee and to set up Negro labor councils in major industrial areas of the country. Within a year this committee set up twenty-three Negro labor councils around the country. The struggle for racial equality in the workplace was on.[29]

Contrary to popular belief, this stage of the black working class struggle predated the civil rights movement. The Negro labor councils engaged in struggles on all fronts. They were not successful in their campaign to have their model FEPC clause incorporated into union con-

tracts. One union, the United Electrical, Radio and Machine Workers adopted the model FEPC clause as its official policy and set up a FEPC to lead a nationwide drive for the full rights of its black and white workers.[30]

The Councils aided the black United Public Workers (UPW) in their fight for on-the-job improvements such as desegregated facilities and apprenticeships. In Detroit, the Negro Labor Council waged a long battle against racism in industry and the union. The late Walter Reuther, then President of the U.A.W., was one of the council's major critics. The all-white male U.A.W. leadership had not only opposed the black workers' fight for a local FEPC but also opposed their efforts to elect a black member to the UAW's executive board.[31] But such resistance from high places inside organized labor did not dampen the spirits of the black workers. They continued to press against white male hegemony in the workplace.

From the early 1950s throughout the civil rights era, and most dramatically during the brief but eventful period of black power activism, black workers with the help of progressive whites, kept up the pressure on white workers and white employers. A constant war in the workplace was occurring throughout America as many white male-dominated institutions, social mores and values, gave way reluctantly to the groundswell of the black movement. In the vanguard of this movement was the NNLC.

In 1952, in Cleveland, the NNLC picketed the downtown offices of American Airlines, carrying signs which read, "Negro pilots fly in Korea -- why not in America?", "End Jim Crow in American Airlines,"

and "We Want Negro Stewardesses." This organization was the first black protest group to lead an attack upon job discrimination at Sears Roebuck in Cleveland, San Francisco, St. Louis, Newark, Los Angeles, and Chicago, forcing the company to hire black women as clerks and cashiers. In November of 1952, the greater New York Negro Labor Council initiated an effective attack on racism in New York's hotel industry, which forced the white male-controlled hotel and restaurant employees International Union of the AF of L to join the struggle. By the spring of 1953, major hotels were hiring and upgrading black workers. This war against racism in the workplace extended to General Electric in Louisville, International Harvester in Chicago, and even the sugar cane fields in southern Louisiana.[32] Unfortunately, the combined efforts of the U.A.W. white leadership and the Committee on Un-American Activities led to the demise of this most important and effective black working class organization.[33] Yet from 1951 to 1955, the NNLC was the major black organization struggling against white male hegemony and racism in the workplace. By this time it was very apparent that the American workplace was racially and sexually divided, and that the offensive of the NNLC had to be sustained and advanced. Two years after the NNLC collapsed, black trade unionists in Detroit organized the Trade Union Leadership Council (TULC) to attack racism within the AFL-CIO. Soon this new initiative spread to other cities where similar black working class organizations sprang up. Before long, Youngstown, St. Louis, Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Buffalo, Milwaukee, Cleveland, Chicago, Gary and New York, all had black working class organizations modeled after the TULC in Detroit. In 1960, these groups established a national organization called the Negro Ameri-

can Labor Council (NALC). Led by veteran black labor organizers, A. Phillip Randolph and Cleveland Robinson, as president and vice president respectively, the NALC served notice on the AFL-CIO that black workers were not going to rest until racism was eliminated from that organization.[34]

The war on white male hegemony in the workplace was accelerated as black workers throughout the industrial centers of the nation flowed into the NALC. Less than a year after the national organization was founded, membership soared to 10,000. In 1962, the NALC won a major struggle (started two decades earlier) to get the first black elected to the U.A.W. Executive Board and a year later laid the ground work for the march on Washington.[35]

The NALC continued its struggles along several fronts, focusing upon discrimination in unions, full employment and voting rights. As the civil rights movement developed, the NALC joined with various organizations of that movement to achieve their common goals. But struggle against white male dominance and control in the workplace continued to be its major concern.

By the late 1960s, with the 1964 civil rights law on the books but not being effectively enforced, the struggles between black workers and white workers intensified around key issues surrounding the workplace, particularly white male dominated union leadership. In the summer of 1968, nine hundred black members of Local 241 of the Amalgamated Transit Union, AFL-CIO, in Chicago staged a wildcat strike which shut down sixty bus lines and seriously affected forty others because the all-white union leadership refused to revise the constitution which allowed white

pensioners to vote on crucial issues affecting the membership which was sixty percent black. The union leadership had been kept in power primarily because of the votes of the white pensioners. After a long struggle, black workers won a few small concessions but did not effectively dent the dominance of the white male leadership.[36]

Black workers began revolting against white male union leadership around the country. Black steel workers, members of the Ad Hoc Committee, a black caucus within the United Steel Workers Union which represented over 200,000 black workers, placed picket lines around the entrance to the United Steel Workers Convention. They were protesting the lack of black representation in the USW leadership and the low status of black workers within the steel plants.[37]

Today in 1980, this struggle continues. In April of this year, black and Hispanic workers in the New York Transport Workers Union complained about "the lack of training programs that would allow semi-skilled blacks and Hispanic car cleaners and porters to move up to the skilled ranks of car maintainers and motormen. The major problem is that both the skilled jobs and the union leadership are dominated by white males. In the fall of 1980, some black U.A.W. workers accused it of racism and began organizing against the predominantly white male leadership.[38]

Much more could and should be said about the numerous ways in which black workers are struggling against white male hegemony in the workplace. But for our purposes it should be clear that increased heterogeneity in the workplace seems to be occurring only as a result of the persistent struggles of blacks and other minorities against

the traditional and entrenched privileges of white males.

Yet the above black struggles are only half the story. Women, most of them white, have also begun to struggle against white male hegemony in the workplace. With the reemergence of the women's movement, there has come another major assault upon traditional white male privileges. No wonder, then, that many white males feel themselves to be the target of angry minorities and women. As white males reluctantly came to understand the historical unfolding of the black movement, the women's movement was upon them. These are not the best of times to be an historical white male, with little or no understanding of why blacks and women are rebelling.

Women's Liberation Movement: Sexual Response to White Male Hegemony in the Workplace

The Women's Liberation Movement has essentially been a white middle and upper class movement; yet the ramifications of the movement have extended far beyond these particular classes. Women of every race, ethnic group, and social class are beginning to see that they are victims of sexual exploitation by men in positions of power. And since white males dominate positions of power in America, it is clear that these women's common enemy is the white male. The older of these women, or those who are historically aware of women's struggles in the past, know that the present women's struggle is only the latest stage in a long history of women's struggles. But there is an historical connection which makes this period of women's struggles unique: it has come on the heels of the black civil rights movement and many of its major figures and advocates were either involved in the civil rights movement or were greatly influenced by its ideology and tactics.[39]

The impact of this is devastating for white males. Coming as it did on the heels of the civil rights movement and, perhaps more importantly, behind the Black Power Movement, which sent shock waves throughout the entire white value system, the women's movement sent many white males reeling. To many white males the shock of having wives, girlfriends, daughters and mothers question the deepest held and felt values of the white male world was excruciating. Many of the white males had not yet overcome the emotional traumas of the black power movement, which unlike the civil rights movement, penetrated to the very core of white political, economic, and cultural assumptions.[40] Although white males were not seriously or permanently shaken by these movements, they were disturbed by the aggressiveness and courage they displayed. The veils were lifting and the non-white male populace was no longer mesmerized by the mystique of the blond and blue-eyed all American white boy wonder. White males, therefore, found themselves under attack by minorities and also white women.

What most males fail to understand is that women have been exploited for centuries, and this exploitation is rooted in sexism which benefits only men. Such exploitation is particularly rampant in the workplace where the sexual division of labor not only locked women into low-paying jobs but underpaid them into jobs where they performed the same work as men.[41] Historical crowding of women into a few "women-only" occupations had the effect of reducing competition for men. For white male workers this meant that they did not have to compete with either minorities or white women. "Because of men's dominance in the market, it is clear that they have the power to discriminate," one writer comments. "A majority of the labor force is male, almost all employers are male, and even if

housewives are the most vocal consumers, their husbands have the majority of the dollar votes."[42]

The changing structure of the American economy institutionalized the sexual division of labor even when women made relative progress.' Between 1870 and 1920 the percentage of women in low-wage service and farm labor occupations declined from about two-thirds of the female labor force to below one-third. The decline among women in these occupations took place at a rate faster than that of men leaving these jobs. Accompanying this development was the rising rate of women into higher wage white collar occupations such as professional, managerial, clerical and sales, which was faster than that of males. In 1920, for example, 38.4 percent of female workers were working in white collar occupations compared to only 6.2 percent in 1870. In comparison, male workers had 21.4 percent of their number in white collar occupations compared to 11.5 percent in 1870.[3] Of course, we must be careful with such comparisons because "white collar" jobs for women seldom carry the same status and pay the same wages as they do for men.

The increased movement of women into the "white-collar" occupations was due to the rise of t corporate form of business organizations, which was based upon large scale production of goods for sales in widely scattered markets. This emerging form of corporate organization, contrasted to the small retail establishments, generated a flood of business correspondence, record keeping, information gathering and general office work, creating a great number of clerical and other office positions for women. With the invention of the typewriter and the telephone which soon became the indispensable new tools of major business enterprises as well as govern-

ment agencies, young middle class white women were drawn into the labor market.[44]

The arrival of large department stores, mail order houses and chain stores in American business history generated even more white collar jobs for women, and at the same time developed a greater sexual division of labor. During this same period the nursing and teaching professions mushroomed into traditional women's occupations.[45] With the coming of World War I, women (mainly white) were able to penetrate male jobs in industry due to the war-induced labor shortage. As a result, white women were experiencing significant occupational upgrading. Between 1914 and 1919, the percentage of women in the iron, steel, auto, lumber, stone, clay and glass industries, tripled.[46]

Unfortunately, the period of 1920-50 was not as eventful for women workers. White women continued to leave the low-wage domestic and farm occupations at a fast rate but their percentage increase in white collar work slowed to only ten percent during the thirty year period. Men on the other hand, doubled their numbers in the white collar occupations, due to the expanding scientific and engineering professions and college teaching,[47] fields from which women were effectively barred. Much of the slow growth for women in white collar jobs during 1920-50 was attributable to women losing their jobs to men after World War One, the Depression of the 1930s, and similar layoffs of women after World War Two.[48] From 1950 to 1970, the relative occupational positions of women declined due to the relative increase in the proportions of males entering the high-paying professional and managerial occupations. Males (mostly whites) increased their numbers from 17 percent of those occu-

pations in 1950 to 28 percent in 1970. Over the same period, the percentage of women in these occupations increased from 17 percent to only 19 percent.[49] One of the major reasons for the occupational decline among women was the steady decline of college-educated women during the same period, when college education was becoming more of a prerequisite for professional and managerial jobs. Other related reasons for women's occupational disadvantages were their support of husbands in school, marriages which forced wives to drop out of college, and finally and most importantly, the "sex-typing" of jobs which limited women's occupation choices at a time when their labor participation rates were increasing.[50]

By the eve of the civil rights movement women were already beginning to sense that something was very wrong with the society which allowed men special privileges in the workplace. Many women had done men's work during the Second World War and were convinced that they could do most of the work that men did. But it took the young women in the civil rights and new left movements to really give spirit and direction to the bottled-up feelings of millions of suppressed women at home and in the workplace. As one writer so aptly put it:

> ...The women's liberation movement was initiated by women in the civil rights movement and the new left who dared to test the old assumptions and myths about female nature against their own experience and discovered that something was drastically wrong. And they dared because within these movements

> they had learned to respect themselves and to know their own strength.[51]

Before long the new feminist movement was making itself felt throughout all levels of society. From the demonstration at the Miss America Pageant in 1968 to the present struggle over ERA, women of all races, religions, nationalities, and sexual preference were challenging men on all fronts. And the workplace was a major battlefield.

As women began entering previously all-male blue and white collar occupations, they did so boldly and with determination. Women in the union movement were the first to rise up against male, and particularly white male, hegemony. At the founding of the Coalition of Labor Union Women in 1974, Myra Wolfgang, Vice President of the Hotel and Restaurant Workers, put the white male-dominated leadership in America on notice: "We have a message for George Meany. We have a message for Leonard Woodcock. We have a message for Frank Fitzsimmons. You can tell them we didn't come here to swap recipes." Wolfgang was not joking. Women were joining unions in record numbers. From 1968 to 1972, 500,000 women became union members at a time when overall union growth was (and still is) slowing down. Unionized women took the women's liberation struggle into the center of the war in the workplace. In unions such as the Clothing Workers, Ladies Garment Workers, Retail Clerks, and Teachers and Office Employees, women constitute at least 50% of the membership. In other unions, (the Postal Workers, Railway Clerks, Retail, Wholesale and Department Stores) female membership is soaring; and especially in the State, Federal, County and Municipal Employees Union.[53] For years, however, the leaders of these unions have been white males. A good

example is the International Ladies Garment Workers Union (ILGWU) which in 1976, with a membership that was eighty percent female, finally elected its first woman vice president.[54]

Women in unions had to face many of the same problems as women in other white male-dominated institutions. The American Federation of Labor was criticized very early in its history for ignoring blacks and women. In July of 1910 a few hundred women in Cincinnati working in a range of occupations sent a petition to the AFL national office protesting the manner in which the male leadership in that union was treating them: "We have some time ago, made application to join the trades unions, but could never get the members to meet us, having always the same excuse. We feel satisfied that they are trying to keep us out of the union."[55] These women were particularly concerned because the male-dominated Cincinnati Central Labor Council had demanded the enforcement of a living wage for male workers because men were the "natural protectors of the women." The women workers thought this demand was contradictory since these same men did not permit women workers in the city to join unions; or, worse still, did not act when members of the waitresses' union complained of the sexist practices of the head waiters (members of the male waiters' union) and other males who had authority over the women. Much of what was occurring in the white male-dominated AFL was occurring around the country. Women trade unionists learned early in the history of organized labor that they had to struggle for their special interests and simply could not trust the male leadership to represent them. Around the turn of the century, the garment workers unions, with a larger percentage of women than probably any other union not only accepted

an unequal wage structure favoring men but did little to encourage women to assume leadership positions.[57] Trade union women, therefore, were forced to struggle, much like blacks, against both white male employers and workers. In the 1970s, when minorities and women rose up against the various institutional bulwarks of white male hegemony and privilege, the workplace was quite naturally the flash point.

One fact, however, should be brought out in relation to the extent to which the women's liberation movement influenced trade unionists in the workplace. Women trade unionists had their own unique history of struggle, and many of them felt that feminists' positions had little relevance for their particular struggle. One writer argues, "Self-actualization, the rallying cry of feminists in the early seventies, had little relevance for working class women."[58] Life for women in the workplace was "...tedious and uninteresting. But it was necessary, so union women were concerned with fringe benefits, union involvement, and most important of all, pay." These women were also after "training opportunities, day care, health care, maternity leave benefits and equality on the job." Consequently, women workers began organizing caucuses around those issues in the workplace which most affected their lives. Starting in about 1971, these women's caucuses spread around the country. In 1971 some women workers in California formed a group called Women's Alliance to Gain Equality (W.A.G.E.). The next year in Cleveland, Ohio, women workers formed the Cleveland Council of Union Women. That same year women in Chicago formed the United Women's Caucus.[59]

As women workers began organizing around their specific needs and pressuring the white male dominated leadership to redistribute some

of their power and privileges, unions responded by establishing women's departments and supporting issues of importance to women trade unionists. A good example of women's growing power in the male dominated workplace was the AFL-CIO formal endorsement of E.R.A. at its national convention in 1973. Before union women put pressure on the union, it was staunchly opposed to the amendment.[60] But the women were determined to move the union to their position and they succeeded.

As women began asserting themselves in the union and the workplace, they challenged the exclusive rights of white males to apprenticeship programs and the skilled trades. This further intensified the already growing conflict generated by the demands of black and other minority workers.

As the spirit of the women's movement spread, unorganized women workers began to stir and question their status in the male dominated work place. Office workers were some of the first unorganized women to rise up. Office workers were particularly vulnerable because, although they were white collar workers, they were not a part of management. They also were caught up in a kind of "false consciousness" wherein many perceived themselves as a notch above blue collar workers. But in all fairness to office workers, they were justifiably fearful that if they openly opposed the powerful white male establishment, they would lose their jobs. Luckily, a few stout souls persevered. In the 1960s, office workers began forming associations such as Nine to Five in Boston, Women Employed in Chicago, Women Office Workers in New York, and Women on Employment in San Francisco.[61]

These office worker's associations helped their members to see themselves "...as workers, not as appendages defined in terms of the man (or woman) for whom they worked. Once these women saw themselves as workers, they discovered that the same skills they used to run an office could ...translated into the ability to run an effective union drive."[62] Before long, several of these groups affiliated with established unions, such as the Association of State, County and Municipal Employees, the *Distributive Workers of America, and the Office and Professional Employ*ees Union.[63] Women office workers might well be the salvation of male dominated unions. "The fact is," comments one woman writer, "that this situation is finally changing.

> The American Labor Movement is now aware that its very future depends on organizing clerical and other white-collar workers as the proportion of the labor force employed in the traditionally unionized factory jobs continues to decline.[64]

What all this points to is the growing consciousness among women workers in blue and white collar occupations of the need to organize against the pervasive dominance and control of men, especially those who occupy positions of power, --and of which only a few are non-white. This growing consciousness has not limited itself to merely organizing but has extended itself to instructional manuals on how to deal with male dominated workplaces. Women with experience in dealing with men in the workplace are busy instructing their "sisters" on the finer arts of workplace combat:

> Clearly it is in the best interest of the entrenched power group to keep the new female players ignorant of the rules since uninformed recruits present little competition to the veterans and can be legally eliminated at very early stages of the game...[65]

This same writer instructs her sister co-workers that "the counter-offensive ... is well underway and the underlying strategy to block the progress of women is clearly visible to battle-scarred female veterans."[66] Women are being told to gird up their loins for the inevitable protracted struggle which is sure to come as the male power structure launches its counter offensive to deflect "women's assault on the bastions of corporate power..."[67]

It would be fortunate if these women veterans of the war in the workplace were just alarmists. But they are not. Many white males throughout the American workplace are resisting what they perceive to be an unjustified assault upon their rights as white males. Not a few of them feel that indeed, they are the minority. And however wrong others might think these white males to be, their perceptions and feelings have been real enough to keep the war going in the workplace. In such a setting, increasing heterogeneity can only mean increasing conflict. We owe it to ourselves, then, to understand the history of white male resistance to racial and sexual changes in the workplace.

White Males' Reactions to the Black and Women Movements in the Workplace

Most racial conflicts in America have tended to center around the workplace and have occurred primarily when the superior position of

white males in the workplace has been threatened. White male reactions to these movements are not unique. They are common to the reactions of all privileged groups being threatened with the loss of their traditional status, or being forced to share their power. As philosopher Daniel C. MaGuire explains in his book, A New American Justice: Ending the White Monopolies, "There is nothing evil about white males. They are only reacting as privileged groups always have when a threat to privilege appears."[68] Realizing that there have always been various classes of white males, some rich and powerful, others poor and humble, that have shared a common cultural processing of relative degrees of control and dominance in their particular spheres of influence, MaGuire states:

> I acknowledge at the outset that 'white male' is not a universal term. Not all white males are equally endowed and some are drastically deprived. Jewish and Catholic white males, to give just two examples, often find doors and minds in the realm closed to them. Also the impoverishment and disempowerment of poor Appalachian whites require special forms of redistributive relief. But no conclusion can be drawn from this diversity that the term, 'white male' has no substance or relevance to the reality of power. It is clear that from boardroom to pulpit, in the halls of government, business, academia, and church, 'white males'

is a warranted and meaningful generalization that points to an identifiable and controlling group.[69]

FOOTNOTES

1. Winthrop D. Jordan, WHITE OVER BLACK: AMERICAN ATTITUDES TOWARD THE NEGRO, 1550-1813 (Baltimore: Penguin Inc., 1969), p. 80.
2. Ibid., pp. 129-30.
3. Louis Ruchames (ed.), RACIAL THOUGHT IN AMERICA: FROM THE PURITANS TO ABRAHAM LINCOLN (New York: Gosset and Dunlap, 1969), pp. 264-5.
4. Leon F. Litwack, NORTH OF SLAVERY: THE NEGRO IN THE FREE STATES, 1790-1860 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1961), pg. 156.
5. Ibid.
6. Ibid.
7. Ibid., p. 166; W.E.B. DuBois, THE PHILADELPHIA NEGRO: A SOCIAL STUDY (Political Economy and Public Law Series No. 14, Boston: Ginn, 1899), pg. 33.
8. Eugene H. Berwanter, THE FRONTIER AGAINST SLAVERY: WESTERN ANTI-NEGRO PREJUDICE AND THE SLAVERY EXTENSION CONTROVERSY (Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 1967), pp. 18-34.
9. C. Vann Woodward, ORIGINS OF THE NEW SOUTH: 1877-1913 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1951), pg. 211.
10. Ray Marshall, THE NEGRO AND ORGANIZED LABOR (London: John Wiley and Son, Inc., 1965), pp. 91-96.
11. Ibid., pp. 105-106.
12. Ibid., p. 90.
13. Ibid., p. 96.
14. Ray Marshall and Vernon M. Briggs, Jr. THE NEGRO AND APPRENTICESHIP (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press, 1967), p. 34.

15. Raymond Wolters, NEGROES AND THE GREAT DEPRESSION (Westport: Greenwood Publishing Corporation, 1970), pp. 170-177.

16. Herbert Hill, BLACK LABOR AND THE AMERICAN LEGAL SYSTEM (Washington: The Bureau of National Affairs, Inc., 1977), p. 107.

17. Ibid., p. 107; 110-111.

18. Herbert Hill, "Racism Within Organized Labor: A Report of Five Years of the AFL-CIO, 1955-1960," JOURNAL OF NEGRO EDUCATION, 30 (Spring 1961): p. 109.

19. William B. Gould, BLACK WORKERS IN WHITE UNIONS (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1977), p. 424.

20. Philip S. Foner, ORGANIZED LABOR AND THE BLACK WORKER: 1619-1973 (New York: International Publishing, 1976), p. 30.

21. Quoted in Irving Bernstein, THE LEAN YEARS (Baltimore: Penguin, 1960), p. 106.

22. Foner, p. 177; 199-200.

23. Ibid., pp. 327-28.

24. Ibid., pp. 239-242.

25. "National Defense Chronology for the Year 1941," THE NEGRO HANDBOOK (New York: Wendell Mailliet and Company, 1942), pp. 76-77.

26. Robert C. Weaver, NEGRO LABOR: A NATIONAL PROBLEM (New York: Harcourt, Brace and World, Inc., 1946), p. 19.

27. Ibid.

28. Ibid., p. 17.

29. Foner, pp. 294-296.

30. Ibid., p. 294.

31. Ibid., pp. 296-97.

32. Ibid., pp. 302-304.

33. Ibid., p. 319.

34. Ibid., p. 334.

35. Ibid., pp. 339-341.

36. Ibid., pp. 402-410.

37. Herbert Hill, "Black Protest and the Struggle for Union Democracy," ISSUES IN INDUSTRIAL SOCIETY, 1, No. 1, 1969, pp. 20-21.

38. David A. Andelman, "Discord in Union is Seen as Posing Problem in Talk: Racial Issues Reportedly Causing Split in Local," NEW YORK TIMES, April 7, 1980, pp. B1-B3.

39. For an excellent discussion of the historical connections between the Civil Rights movement and the women's liberation movement, see Sara Evans, PERSONAL POLITICS: THE ROOTS OF WOMEN'S LIBERATION IN THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AND THE NEW LEFT (New York: Vintage Books, 1980).

40. For some examples of the radical black nationalistic writings that challenged white cultural assumption see, Addison Gayle, Jr., "Cultural Strangulation: Black Literature and the White Aesthetic," pp. 38-45; Ron Karenga, "Black Cultural Nationalism," pp. 31-37 in THE BLACK AESTHETIC (New York: Anchor Books, 1972); Floyd B. Barbour (ed.) THE BLACK POWER REVOLT (Boston: Collier Books, 1969).

41. Donald McNulty, "Differences in Pay Between Men and Women Workers," MONTHLY LABOR REVIEW, XC (December 1967): pp. 40-43; Alan S. Blinder, "Wage Discrimination: Reduced Form and Structural Estimates," JOURNAL OF HUMAN RESOURCES 8 (July 1973), pp. 436-455.

42. Cynthia B. Lloyd, "The Division of Labor Between the Sexes: A Review" Cynthia B. Lloyd, SEX DISCRIMINATION AND THE DIVISION OF LABOR (New York: Columbia University Press, 1975), p. 15.

43. Alan I. Sorkin, "On the Occupational Status of Women, 1870-1970," AMERICAN JOURNAL OF ECONOMICS AND SOCIOLOGY 32 (July 1973), p. 237.

44. Ibid., p. 238.

45. Ibid.

46. Ibid.

47. *Ibid.*

48. Ibid., p. 239.

49. Ibid.

50. Ibid., p. 241.

51. Evans, pp. 212-213.

52. Kathleen Currie, "Woman Power/Union Power," WOMEN'S WORK, September/October 1976, p. 9.

53. Ibid.

54. Ibid., pp. 9-10.

55. Philip S. Foner, WOMEN AND THE AMERICAN LABOR MOVEMENT: FROM COLONIAL TIMES TO THE EVE OF WORLD WAR I (New York: The Free Press, 1979), p. 250.

56. Ibid.

57. Ibid., p. 294.

58. Currie, p. 10.

59. Ibid.

60. Ibid., p. 11.

61. Ibid., p. 10.

62. Ibid.

63. Ibid.

64. Louise Kapp Hose, PINK COLLAR WORKERS (New York: Avon Books, 1978), p. 162.

65. Betty Lehan Harragan. GAMES MOTHER NEVER TAUGHT YOU: CORPORATE GAMESMANSHIP FOR WOMEN (New York: Warner Books Edition, 1977), p. 23.

66. Ibid.

67. Ibid.

68. Daniel C. MaGuire, A NEW AMERICAN JUSTICE (New York: Doubleday and Company, Inc. 1980), p. 3.

69. Litwack, p. 159.

HARRY C. TRIANDIS is a Professor of Psychology, LIR, at the University of Illinois. He taught at McGill and Cornell Universities before moving to the University of Illinois in 1958. He is a Fellow of Divisions 8, 9 and 14 of the American Psychological Association and a member of the American Association for the Advancement of Science, the Society of Experimental Social Psychology, Interamerican Society of Psychology, International Association of Cross-Cultural Psychology, Society for Cross-Cultural Research and the International Association of Applied Psychology as well as Sigma XI.

He has held many elective offices in national and international psychology associations and serves on the boards of some of the most prestigious journals of psychology in the United States.

His paper, colloquia and addresses on various aspects of psychology have been presented throughout the world in various countries of Europe, Asia and South America. He has published consistently since 1954, and has written or edited ten books in addition to numerous chapters, papers and translations. He is indeed one of the foremost scholars in his field today.

Harry C. Triandis offers a wideranging overview of the problems to be encountered in any research of heterogeneity issues and some ideas of the problems to be expected in researching productivity issues that are related to heterogeneity. He further reminds us that the study of productivity will require a wide knowledge of the variables around race, sex, ethnicity and culture, and a sound theoretical framework with precise definitions. This alerts us to the number and complexity of the issues raised by the possibility of a truly heterogeneous workplace.

CZA Incorporated

HETEROGENEITY IN THE WORKFORCE AND PRODUCTIVITY: A REVIEW

Harry C. Triandis

Heterogeneity in the Workforce and Productivity: A Review

Concern with productivity is increasing in the United States. There are two major factors that are relevant to this concern: in the United States productivity in increasing very slowly, while in Japan, West Germany, and other countries it is increasing much faster; also, we are underemploying significant segments of our labor force. This has undesirable psychological and societal consequences, and reduces our gross national product.

Changes in our tax structure, technological innovations, and new societal structures are needed to increase productivity. In the present paper I will focus on a very limited analysis of relevant social psychological variables. Basically my focus will be on behaviors that are relevant to productivity, interpersonal relationships which are conducive to high productivity, and cultural factors which can increase or decrease productivity.

Definitions

Productivity

Productivity connotes units of some product or service produced or deli··· ·d per hour. This definition is limited, since it focuses primarily o·. tputs of repetitive work. The most important directly relevant behavior is exertion of effort. It should be clear that to understand the broader picture one needs to consider other kinds of behavior, such as planning, investing, saving, emphasizing quality, exploring new products, acquiring new information, and problem solving.

Each of these behaviors would require a parallel analysis. Limitations of time preclude such a thorough analysis here.

Culture

Culture connotes the human-made part of the environment. It is useful to distinguish objective culture--such as tools, roads, equipment--from subjective culture--such as norms, roles, values, and conceptions of what events co-occur in an environment. In this paper the emphasis will be on subjective culture, particularly on goals, values and perceptions of what one has to do to reach these goals, how various populations evaluate different types of behavior, and how the ecology, environment, and means of gaining a livelihood in a given environment lead to different kinds of subjective cultures.

Heterogeneity

Here one can consider heterogeneity due to social class, sex, race, ethnic background, and so on. The focus in this paper will be on cultural heterogeneity. Such heterogeneity is produced by differences in three factors: language, time and place. Differences of language is meant to convey that one group has difficulty communicating with another without special training. Thus, a group that speaks black English may not communicate with a group that speaks standard English. Differences in time and place refers to differences in historical period and geographic location. There are regional differences in subjective culture, just as there are different ways of defining roles at different points in time, causing problems such as the so called "generation gap."

Operationally the differences being discussed can be examined by utilizing a set of measures that tap norms, goals and values and examining how people who speak different languages are located at different points in time, or how people in different places, react to these measures.

A Model of Behavior

To analyze productive behavior or interpersonal behavior, it is useful to examine a model of behavior (see Triandis 1977b, 1980 for details). Basically this model postulates that the probability of a behavior or act is dependent on three major variables: (1) habits, (2) behavioral intentions, and (3) facilitating conditions.

Habits refers to patterns of behavior that have been rewarded in the previous history of the organism, and have become automatic--that is, the person acts without thinking. There are many examples where the person is not aware of his or her behavior. The behavior takes place without thinking. For example, when driving most of our actions are responses to stimuli received from the road, other cars, etc. and our actions are not analytically processed. We have learned to act that way, and usually this was done under the influence of rewards--such as safely arriving at our destination. In the work place such habits are very important.

For example, when a random sample of foremen was instructed to behave as "s.o.bs" toward their subordinates, those subordinates who were doing overlearned work did not change their productivity, while those who were doing a new job reduced their productivity greatly. In other words, behaviors that are under the control of habits are not as likely

to change when environmental events change, as are behaviors that are under the control of behavior intentions.

We may learn, for example, to work with higher or low levels of effort. If high levels of effort have resulted in us getting more money, or more freedom to act as we please, or more praise, or we received some valuable information, or we feel that we have become more valuable to ourselves and to others, or experience various kinds of satisfaction, or realize some of our goals, then the high levels of effort become habits. Some people when placed in a work setting run rather than walk, make decisions accurately and quickly, and search for new solutions at a frantic pace. Others move slowly.

Behavioral intentions refers to self-instructions to act in a certain way. A person may instruct himself to work hard, to exert energy toward the conclusion of a job. Behavioral intentions are due to four classes of variables: (1) pressures received from others, such as a supervisor or fellow workers asking the person to work hard, (2) the person's self-concept that he is the kind of person who works hard, (3) emotions of pleasure associated with hard work, and (4) perceived perceptions that hard work will lead to desirable goals. The first of these classes of variables reflects the norms and roles of a particular social situation. For example, in industry a very important phenomenon is known as "restriction of work". In most work groups, workers pressure each other to keep production at a certain level, fearing that greater production will result in layoffs, re-standardization of the times determined by time studies, or other undesirable consequences. Workers who break the norm are ostracized, or even physically attacked. Thus a person's realization

that such a norm exist will be a factor in the behavioral intention to exert effort. The person's self-concept reflects the already established habits discussed above. A person with habits to exert much effort is likely to see himself as the kind of person who exerts much effort. The emotions associated with the exertion of effort are due to the classical conditioning of the idea, "I am working hard". If that idea has been frequently associated with pleasant events, the emotion is likely to be positive; if the idea was associated with unpleasant events, it is likely to be negative. Finally, the perceived consequences reflect a cognitive processing of previous co-occurrences of the high exertion of effort and the reaching of particular goals. For example, a person whose high effort resulted in frequent promotions, and who values promotions, is likely to see very positive consequences for high effort.

Note that the sources of the four kinds of influence are all events that have occurred in the person's history. But in the first case, the source is particular others; in the second, the person's own behavior; in the third, emotions reflecting pleasant or unpleasant events; and in the fourth, expectations that the behavior will result in particular consequences. In the case of the latter variable, it is useful to distinguish how sure the person is that a particular consequence will occur from how desirable the person sees the consequence. For example, if we are examining the link between working hard and a promotion, we can note that for certain populations the link may not exist. In American industry there is a recent strong trend to promote people on the basis of educational qualifications, so that a person who does not have a high school diploma, or a university degree, may not receive a promotion, no matter

how hard he or she works. So, this policy has the effect of de-coupling the high effort from the promotion. In parallel we find that some people are most excited by the idea of a promotion. That is, they love the extra pay, status, and power that is involved. But others focus on the extra responsibility, the reduced freedom, the possibility that one will be blamed for the mistakes of others, and other such undesirable features, and find a promotion undesirable. So we can find variations in the certainty that a consequence will follow a behavior, and variations in the desirability of the consequence.

The perceived certainty of a consequence when multiplied with the desirability of a consequence gives a value. For each consequence we have a corresponding value of the product of certainty and desirability. When we add the values of all the perceived consequences we get a total which reflects the value of the consequences of a behavior.

The person's behavioral intention is assumed to be reflected in the sum of the pressures received from others, the person's self-concept, the emotions associated with the behavior and the perceived consequences of the behavior.

The probability of action depends on the habits and behavioral intentions. But weights are applied to these two sets of variables that reflect the kind of behavior, the kind of person, and the kind of situation. For overlearned acts, for instance, the weight for habit is high and the weight for behavioral intention is zero. So, for such acts, it makes no difference what are the pressures received from others, the person's self-concept, the emotions associated with the act, or the perceived consequences of the act; because behavior is not under the

control of behavioral intentions. In some pathological cases, such as phobias, a person may have the intention to do something but be unable to do it. Stopping to smoke is another example where habits are often more powerful than intentions. For new and unusual behaviors, however, the opposite pattern holds: habits are unimportant and behavior is entirely under the control of intentions.

For many behaviors there may be a habit and a behavioral intention component. The smoker who intends to smoke provides an example. But facilitating conditions, a third kind of variable, comes into play. Facilitating conditions reflect the situation--are cigarettes available? Is a light available? Are the person's hands free to reach for the cigarette and light it? Innumerable such factors may prevent a behavior from taking place even when habits and intentions are high. So, we conceive of facilitating conditions as varying from zero to one, and multiplying the weighted sum of the measures of habit and intention. When a number is multiplied by zero the result is zero. So, when facilitating conditions are zero, no matter what the habits or intentions the prediction is that the probability of the act is zero.

Applying these ideas to the analysis of productivity we must distinguish between productivity when the person is learning the job and behavioral intentions are important; and from productivity when the person has learned the job and habits are important. Also, we must consider situational factors outside the person's control which act as facilitating conditions do in the model that was just described.

Facilitating conditions, in this case, reflect attributes of the technology, the person's ability levels, availability of materials with

which to do a job, and so on. Most of these are under the influence of engineering decisions. Industrial engineers can create the most favorable conditions for high productivity.

Habits reflect the history of the person. In the case of high exertion it is important to consider previous rewards received for such behavior. Behavioral intentions reflect the pressures received from others. It is detrimental to productivity when peers apply pressures to limit production. It is detrimental to productivity when a person thinks of himself as a low producer, the person's self-concept is low. It is detrimental to productivity when the person associates negative feelings with high exertion or the perceived consequences of high exertion. It is detrimental to productivity when the person has worked hard and does not get rewards.

In short, productivity is under the influence of several variables, some of them technological, some social, and some reflecting the person's experience with high exertion. In what follows the focus will be on cultural factors that can influence some of these variables.

Some Major Cultural Differences

It is useful to examine some cultural differences that separate the major United States minorities from the mainstream. There is a temptation to see such differences as in some sense the "fault" of the minorities. This is not my position. I think of cultural differences as reflections of the ecology and history of the various groups of people. A major theme of these differences reflects a contrast between the rural, as opposed to the urban, industrial, and technological emphasis which has been important both in Europe and in the American urban setting in the

past two-hundred years. (Hunting in the case of the Indians or farming in the case of blacks and Hispanics as the way of making a living that was characteristic of the experience of the majority of persons within each of the U.S. minorities in the last two-hundred years). I will deal with this contrast by using the terms urban and rural, because those terms are less value-laden than the names of particular minorities.

Historically, rural settings had fewer opportunities for education than urban settings. Thus, habits and emotions associated with education developed differentially in those settings. Education is one of the major factors in creating a cluster of attitudes that Inkeles and Smith (1974) called modernity. These attitudes include openness to new experiences, trust in others, a sense of control over one's own destiny, an analytic approach to events, emphasis on individualism rather than collectivism, and other attitudes.

Mainstream Americans are extremely individualistic. In fact, in a survey of values done by Hofstede (1980) in 40 countries, Americans were the most individualistic followed by the British, Canadians, and Australians. European countries were generally also individualistic, while South Americans, Africans and Asians were collectivist. That is, they focus on the family, tribe, or other ingroup. In collectivist societies the person's self-definition is intimately linked with the definition of the ingroup. People do not act because "it is fun" or because "it is good for me", but because others want them to act, or because it is good for others. Thus, with many minorities the opinions of others, and the pressures for action received by peers are more significant than ideas about what is fun to do or what will have good

long-term consequences. But while this trend is strong for the majority of blacks in this country, my own data suggest that there is a significant exception: Blacks with a long history of unemployment differ from other blacks. Blacks with a history of unemployment have a perspective which I called eco-system distrust (Triandis, 1976). They do not trust anyone, their ingroup included. These so called hard-to-employ individuals showed less trust in people, suspicion about the motives of others, rejection of authority figures, opposition to blacks in authority or who are members of the establishment (such as ministers, teachers, and social workers) and viewed the environment as malevolent, full of dangers. They thought that "friends can be bad for you", "teachers are unimportant", "ministers are fakers and lazy", and "social workers should be avoided." Also, they saw no links among events that most blacks and whites see as being naturally linked. For example, most people think that "disobeying the boss" is linked to "getting fired", but this sample did not see such a link; most people think that "skipping work" is connected with "getting a bad reputation", but this sample did not.

My analysis here is that this sample is a classic case of decoupling of behavior and rewards. Very few of their behaviors ever got rewarded. In fact, they have received very few rewards during their lifetimes. One can distinguish environments as being easy or difficult. In an easy environment a person receives rewards for doing very little, and in a difficult environment a person receives few rewards no matter what the behavior. Both of these conditions are undesirable from the point of view of the development of a positive attitude toward work. In fact, looking at samples from 15 cultures which I classified as easy,

difficult or intermediate, the most positive attitudes towards work were found in the intermediate cultures--i.e. the cultures where when you work hard you get rewarded and when you do not work hard you do not get rewarded (Triandis, 1973). In those cultures where things are easy (and the middle and upper classes in the post industrial cultures can be characterized as having it easy) or very difficult (and the lower social classes or those living in extremely economically underdeveloped cultures have it difficult) we find a relatively negative attitude toward work; in cultures where work can be used to get substantial rewards and not working means not getting enough to eat, we find the most positive attitudes. From data collected in the mid-1960s the most positive attitudes toward work (from among the 15 countries for which I had access to relevant data) were found in Greece and Hong Kong. Incidentally, Greece and Hong Kong are top of the list of countries in the rate of increases in the standard of living between 1965 when the data were collected, and 1975. Both of these countries are now averaging around $3,000 per capita income, when in the 1960s they averaged around $500 per capita (World Almanac, 1980). So, the economic data parallel the psychological data.

In short, an easy environment "spoils" the child, and leads to poor work attitudes. An extremely difficult environment does exactly the same. What we have in the United States is a situation where for both our rich kids and our poor kids we are providing the wrong environment. As the middle class becomes more like the upper class in other countries, more and more young people will feel less and less attracted to work. One no longer needs to work in order to eat. At the same time, by not providing opportunities to the lower-lower social classes to move forward

and become middle class, we are extinguishing any hopes that they will acquire a positive attitude toward work.

So, to summarize these points, we have in rural settings less education than in urban settings, and this over a two-hundred year period has created a fundamentally different perception of the value of education. Education is associated with modern attitudes. Furthermore, the open frontier of the past was conducive to individualism and has resulted in a Mainstream culture which is very individualistic. So, one of the contrasts, particularly between mainstream Americans and Hispanics is the emphasis on individualism versus collectivism. Until the middle of the 20th century the United States was a soceity where the links between behavior and rewards were very clear. These links have weakened in recent times for many in the upper class and even the middle class, and the links are exceptionally weak for those who are chronically unemployed.

Let us turn now to another correlate of education: cognitive complexity.

High levels of education result in "cognitive differentiation", where a person makes a lot of distinctions among stimuli in the environment. This is particularly important in role perceptions. When roles are highly differentiated, a person can criticize another's ideas without rejecting the other as a person (Foa and Foa, 1974). But when perception is diffuse such a discrimination is not possible. When a person says "I do not like your idea" it is identical to saying "I do not like you."

Interpersonal conflicts occur when people utilize different levels of cognitive differentiation (Triandis, 1975). Misunderstandings occur, for example, when a person intends to limit the criticism to the other's

Ideas and the other takes it as total rejection. In diffuse cultures people criticize only indirectly. One may not even tell another that he cannot accept an invitation to dinner because of a previous engagement. One simply does not show up, and later explains that in spite of intentions to come to dinner this proved impossible because of circumstances beyond one's control.

Related to cognitive differentiation is the analytic perceputal style found in "field independent" groups, which contrasts with the "field dependent" style (Witkin and Berry, 1975). Many U.S. minorities have been found to be field dependent while the majority culture is field independent. People who are field independent do well working with objects in three dimensional space, but they are not very sensitive about interpersonal relationships. By contrast, those who are field dependent are interpersonally sensitive. They do not do well in dealing with objects, but do well in dealing with people. There is a similar parallel between males, who tend to be independent and females, who tend to be dependent. Some authors have argued that children who are field dependent must be taught differently from children who are independent.

Populations where survival depends on individual action tend to be field independent. Populations where survival depends on group action tend to be field dependent. Many rural-agricultural populations are field dependent. They tend to raise their children and impose norms of social behavior very strictly. By contrast field independent populations tend to emphasize self-reliance and are rather lenient in child-rearing where independence from others is consistent with survival (Witkins and Berry, 1975). Thus,

ecology leads to certain patterns of child-rearing which lead to field dependence or independence.

Educated groups also tend to use smaller "power distances" than groups that are highly heterogeneous in education. Large power distance means that there is a large gap between supervisors and subordinates, fathers and children, and so on. Hofstede (1980) reports power distance scores from 40 countries, and finds the largest distances in the Philippines, Mexico, India and Venezuela, while the smallest distances were found in Austria, Israel, Denmark, and New Zealand. The United States and Germany were in the middle-low side of the distribution, while Japan was in the middle-high side. Most developed (i.e. educated) countries were on the low side of the distribution and most less developed countries were high in power distance. The relationship between power distance and development was highly significant (p .001). People raised in cultures high in power distance expect to be supervised closely, and expect the boss to act paternalistically.

Finally, a correlate of industrial-urban cultures is emphasis on what you do (performance) rather than on who you are (quality). In traditional-rural cultures who you are is crucial. If you own the land you can act incompetently and still have the respect of others. But in industrial-urban settings what you do is crucial; competence is important for getting respect. In cultures that emphasize status, quality, and who you are, a high status person can act in a highly unorthodox manner and not lose status; in cultures emphasizing what you do, this is less true. Thus, where performance is emphasized, people receive love and status based on their performance; where quality is emphasized, they

receive love and status based on their birth and who there relatives are.

A second major difference between urban and rural backgrounds is concerned with the size of the most frequently occurring groups. In urban settings the size of groups tends to be large; in rural settings it tends to be small. In a small group one can know other members of the group very well. Communication then tends to utilize the common knowledge that people have, and becomes eliptic. That is, a few words can communicate very well. No elaborate definitions and abstractions are needed in order to communicate. But in a large group one cannot assume that others have the same information one has, or will use words the same way. So, one needs to define, and explicate, and use abstractions. This contrast leads to Bernstein's (1961) "restricted code" in lower social class communication, and the "elaborated code" in the communication of the middle classes or the educated groups. But, I do not see the restricted code as ineffective for the setting for which it is intended. The problem comes when a person with a restricted code moves to a city, or into a large group where communication does require an elaborated code. In other words, black English is a perfectly viable language, and there is nothing wrong with a person knowing only that language if that person is to live in a social setting where only that language is used. The problem is when the person moves to a job where others are not like him or her. Then an elaborated code is needed, otherwise communication is deficient.

In small groups interdependence is often extreme, and if one expresses one's emotions this does not necessarily lead to the elimination of social supports. Thus, we find cultural differences in the amount of emotion that one is allowed to express. In smaller groups, and in societies

close to the equator, there is great permissiveness in emotional expression. These so called Dionysian cultures contrast with the so called Apollonian cultures, which occur more frequently away from the equator, where emotional expression is limited and highly restricted. I do not have time to cover the hypotheses that explain the bases of these differences; they can be found in Robbin, DeWalt and Pelto (1972).

A third contrast involves emphasis on universalistic verus particularistic ways of thinking about the social environment (Glenn, 1980). Universalistic thinking is found in cultures where a broad religious or ideological fremework is widely used. Many heavily Roman Catholic or Orthodox cultures use such a framework. Particularistic frameworks are used in cultures where people develop generalizations from particular experiences. In general, people with Protestant and Muslim backgrounds use particularistic frameworks, while people with Catholic and Orthodox backgrounds use universalistic frameworks. People who are universalistic frameworks try to apply universal principles to their experience. People who use particularistic frameworks solve problems on an ad hoc basis, rarely getting guidance from a broad religious or ideological framework.

A fourth cultural difference contrasts "contact" with "no-contact" cultures. In contact cultures people use small physical distances in interpersonal interaction, sit close to each other, stand close to each other, touch, orient their bodies so that they face each other, look each other in the eye, and use loud voices in social exchange. In no-contact cultures people tend to stand farther apart, they use soft voices, they orient their bodies at an angle from each other, and they do not touch or look each other in the eye. In contact cultures people expect

persons in authority to "check up" on them and to be personal about their relations with them. In no-contact cultures the boss can be impersonal without offending the employee.

Research Questions Suggested by the Above

Many of the differences among cultural groups outlined above are hypotheses, summarizing what is known today rather than established facts. The suggestions for research presented below assume that the differences are in fact reliable and explore their implication for (a) productivity, (b) social behavior, (c) success on the job, (d) organizational behavior.

Productivity

A framework for research on productivity would consider the interactions and/or relationships among the following kinds of attributes:

(a) attributes of behaviors, such as whether the behavior is under the control of habits or behavioral intentions, and the behavioral intentions are under the control of social, emotional, or expected subjective utility factors.

(b) attributes of the persons, such as their culture; each of the dimensions of cultural variation mentioned above would be different attribute.

(c) attributes of interpersonal relationships, such as how much prejudice there is in a particular social situation, how much power difference is there, is one person willing to give up some power to improve relationships with another?

(d) attributes of jobs, such as how much of the job is programmed

by environmental events, such as a conveyor belt; is the job structured or unstructured?

(e) attributes of organizations, such as whether they are flat or tall; cooperative or competitive; with communication mostly from the bottom up, or the top down, or both ways; with large power distances; with institutional racism; with an emphasis on good interpersonal relationships or indifference to such relationships; and what kinds of values are given priorities in the organization?

Productivity can be seen as the outcome of the above relationships. This framework suggests a very large number of projects, since each attribute can interact with every other attribute, and productivity may well be the consequence of (a) (b) (c) (d) (e) interactions.

Returning to the model of behavior outlined above we can explore the implications of the cultural differences for the various elements of the model. Workers arrive on the job with a variety of habits. Many minority members will tend to be exposed to few reward structures consistent with the high exertion of effort. Thus, both habits and self-concepts are likely to be inconsistent with high levels of productivity. Furthermore, pressures from others may be toward restriction of output rather than high productivity. Emotions associated with high exertion are likely to be negative. The perceived consequences of high exertion are likely to be undesirable.

Research is needed to explore cultural differences associated with habits, behavioral intentions, and the other variables of the model. Also, research is needed on the changes that could be introduced that will make individuals more productive. Exposing individuals to a

different schedule of rewards is one strategy; informing the individual that high exertion will lead to particular outcomes is another tactic; placing the individual in situations in which the majority of other persons work hard and value high exertion and the norms call for hard work is still another; creating pleasant events associated with high exertion is still another method. We are not sure which method will work better for which kind of person. We do not know how attributes of these changes interact with cultural attributes or situational attributes.

Social Behavior

Consider situations where two individuals differ on the dimensions outlined above. First, consider the rural-urban contrast, where on the one hand an individual is relatively educated, individualistic, cognitively differentiated, field independent, uses small power distances, and emphasizes performance, while the other individual is less educated, collectivist, cognitively less differentiated, field dependent, uses large power distances, and emphasizes quality. Numerous problems will be noted in such interaction. The urban will see the rural as "stupid", "overdependent on others", "incompetent", and "overconcerned with status"; the rural will see the urban as "cold, inhuman, insensitive, egotistic, self-centered, untrustworthy, and over-concerned with performance." Neither image of the other is complimentary. Conflict and hostility are likely. Uncomplimentary stereotypes are likely to be emphasized also if the other is used to dealing with and communicating with persons with a restricted code when an elaborated one is

needed for communication, and when emotions are expressed in situations where they are not expected to be expressed. So, the rural may see the urban as a "cold, calculating, over-intelligent monster" while the urban may see the rural as "over-expressive, undisciplined, stupid and uncouth."

When the universalistic meets the particularistic, other stereotypes may emerge. The universalistic sees the particularistic as "concerned with trivialities, materialistic, and dealing with symptoms rather than with the causes of social ills." The particularistic sees the universalistic as "over-theoretical, fanatic, and dealing with impractical matters."

When a contact person meets a no-contact person the interpersonal difficulties are of still a different kind: the contact person sees the no-contact person as cold and aloof; the no-contact person sees the contact person as intrusive. Furthermore, as the contact person tries to get close to the no-contact person he intrudes into the social space of the no-contact person making him uncomfortable.

This is not a pretty picture. In fact it suggests many conflicts and difficulties due to the above mentioned cultural differences. Matters get even worse if we take into account that people are naturally ethnocentric (use the standards of their own group to judge the behavior of others) and prejudice and discrimination are real phenomena, which result in minorities avoiding contact with majority group members for fear that they will be rejected, or accepted only if they become like the majority. For people who want to maintain their identity, the melting pot is a real threat. Rather than be subjected to a "melt-down" the minority member prefers to throw a monkey wrench into the social machine and see the

machine break down. This is very difficult for the majority to understand, since they think they have an excellent society that need minor improvements. For the majority, whose identity is threatened, this is a very serious issue.

Thus, research is needed on the expectations of the majority that minorities will become like them, on the extent to which this is a barrier to good interpersonal relationships, and on the extent to which the above outlined problems produce difficulties in job-related social situations. Furthermore, we need to learn a great deal more about how to prepare people for successful intercultural behavior. There are many approaches to intercultural training (Brislin and Pedersen, 1976) but we do not yet know which one works best for what kind of person, under what conditions. For example, Triandis (1977b) has described a cognitive approach known as a "culture assimilator" which exposes the trainee to a number of episodes of social interaction involving persons from two cultures and asks for judgments of what is the cause of the observed behavior. A multiple-choice format allows the trainee to select one answer after which feedback is received concerning the adequacy of the answer, and the information about known cultural differences is presented in this feedback. Two other approaches outlined in Triandis (1977b) involve experiential training, such as working and living with members of another culture, and behavior modification training, such as learning to emit behaviors that the person from the other culture considers desirable, and learning to avoid behaviors that are objectionable to the other.

As yet we do not know the relative power of these approaches. We do not know how much to use one or another approach or what the

economics of use really are. Behavior modification is very expensive; the development of culture assimilators is also relatively expensive; experiential groups are not expensive in research time, but people spend many hours in such training, and some doubt that the training is effective, since a trainee has to learn how to deal with others without receiving any help from a trainer. Obviously some judicious combination of these approaches will lead to the best result, but we do not know how to combine them at this time.

Job Relevant Behavior

Jobs differ in a number of ways. For example, they differ in the requirements they place on different kinds of abilities, in their complexity, in the visibility of what one accomplishes on the job, the percent of the job actions that are programmed by the environment rather than by others, and so on. Cultural differences interact with such variables making jobs more or less desirable, and making productivity in such jobs higher or lower because of these interactions.

For example, field independent people can do better in jobs that require the manipulation of objects, while field sensitive people can do better in jobs that require interpersonal skills. One can guess that complex jobs would be more agreeable for persons who are cognitively complex than for person who are not so complex. Working in a job which is highly visible and having a supervisor who sees one's accomplishments and praises the worker would be most desirable for those who like and expect to be supervised closely, but would be most unpleasant for those who do not want to be closely supervised. Having a job that is programmed

by the environment may be more agreeable to a person who is field independent, while a field dependent person may enjoy having other people determine the next phase of a job. Much research is needed to explore such relationships. All I want to do here is to alert you to the possible interactions between attributes of jobs and attributes of cultural groups, and to suggest that productivity may be maximized when we discover the best match between the two.

Organizational Behavior

Organizations differ in their shape and structure. Among the important dimensions of variation are whether they are flat or tall (flat involve many workers reporting to a supervisor; tall involve many levels of supervision and few workers reporting to a particular supervisor), competitive or cooperative, with flows of communication mostly from the top or mostly from the bottom, with power distances that are large or small between supervisors and subordinates, with great emphasis on friendly relationships or on impersonal relationships, and with tasks that are highly structured and unstructured (in structured tasks the supervisor can tell a subordinate exactly what he expects him to do; in unstructured tasks the supervisor can't tell what.)

In a real sense organizations are like cultures. They have their own roles, norms, and values. The point is that the interactions between attributes of the organization and the cultures of the individuals working within them can be important.

For example, in tall organizations a supervisor can monitor the actions of subordinates quite closely. This is expected, and even liked,

in societies with large power distance, but is found to be obnoxious in societies with small power distance.

Or, to take another example, some organizations use incentive schemes that reward cooperation, such as a group bonus or Scalnon plan; other organizations employ incentive schemes that reward competition. Collectivist cultures tend to like cooperative arrangements and to prefer organizations that reward cooperation, while in the mainstream American culture individualism and the value placed on competition often result in the use of other kinds of incentive systems.

Americans have not questioned their own values on this point, because our success in increasing our standard of living made the superiority of competitive systems obvious. Now, however, we find that the Japanese, who emphasize cooperative arrangements, are just as successful as we are. So, this is another area where research is needed. Can we develop incentive systems that are going to respond to the pluralism of American society? Is it really necessary to "buy" the bureaucratic assumption that every person should be rewarded according to the same principles, or can we develop different reward systems for different kinds of employees?

Most American enterprises are organized so that communication flows from top to bottom. Decisions taken by top management are communicated downward. Very little information trickles upward, usually through union channels. In the United States suggestion systems are used very little and workers are rarely given large rewards for their suggestions. The Japanese have a much stronger system of upward communication. Managers often ratify the decisions of subordinates rather than make decisions.

Suggestions systems are very active and good suggestions result in large rewards in Japan. Again, we need research to see how important this is in increasing productivity. The paternalistic relationship between company and employee in Japan (where a worker typically works for life in a particular firm, and a strong firm means good wages for a long time for the worker) may be the reason for the high quality of suggestion that are received by Japanese managements.

When task structure is high persons who are cognitively simple may find the job more acceptable than when it is low. When power distances are high, persons who are used to large power distances may find the job more desirable than persons used to low distances.

These considerations suggest numerous needed research projects. For example, Americans are so individualistic that the idea of a paternalistic corporation seems totally without merit. Yet in many parts of the world companies are both very successful and very paternalistic. Even American companies operating in South America (e.g. Sears) have found that becoming paternalistic pays.

The question is, "What should be the policy within the United States with respect to different types of workers?" For example, suppose we designed "compensation packages" of different types, each costing the same according to the best actuarial projections, but some with a much more significant paternalistic component than the others. We might give workers a choice among such compensation packages. For example, some packages may provide half the wages, but allow for more vacations, more liberal leave plans, company housing, company paid Health Maintenance Organizations for life, company paid life insurance, life-long job

security, payment of university-related expenses of the employee's children, and many other benefits. Creating such long-term relationships between company and workers may have important consequences for productivity. The success of the company will become a guarantee that the company can pay thirty years later for something that is in the compensation package.

Paternalism may also be introduced in training employees of subcultural groups, who happen to be less well educated, or do not yet have the habits that are needed for high levels of productivity. Behavior modification training of employees, where small changes are introduced and rewarded and the behavior is "shaped" to become highly productive, may make employment of new classes of employees profitable. Obviously, if a company operates in a labor market where there are plenty of well-qualified employees, it will hire the well qualified and ignore the others. But if compensation packages with lower wages are used, and wages increase as the employee becomes more and more productive, even totally unskilled and uneducated employees could be employed. Our current high endemic unemployment levels among certain classes of minorities--such as young black males--are in part an outcome of the rigidity of our wage structures. We insist on minimum wages in a situation where there are many people willing to work for that wage, so companies hire the most qualified (which in this case often means "with nominally more education" when in fact the individual may not necessarily be better for the particular job) and this results in high levels of unemployment for the less educated and inexperienced workers. If we had flexible wage structures designed to increase wages as the employee develops new skills, this would not necessarily occur. We design our wages requiring certain frequency and quality of productive

actions, per hour, for which a person is to receive a certain amount of money per hour. But suppose we designed them to compensate improvement in performance. A minimum of $1/hour plus $X/hour, where X is a function of performance that hour, with goals stated each hour, specific behaviors rehearsed and rewarded as they occurred, we would be able to include these minorities in our labor force.

I indicated earlier that people who have never had a job have a point of view called eco-system distrust. As far as we know, to eliminate this point of view, we need to expose these individuals to situations where their own actions lead to predictable rewards. They need to see that they can trust the system, they can trust others, they can control the rewards they receive from the social environment. Leaving them in the rolls of the unemployed does nothing of the sort for them. We are creating generations of people with eco-system distrust.

Conclusions and Policy Implications

The core of the paper emphasized cultural differences. Such differences have both positive and negative outcomes. The more heterogeneity there is in any social system, the more likely it is to produce more new ideas and adjust to changing conditions. (Triandis, Hall and Ewen, 1965). But at the same time heterogeneity leads to internal strife, hostility and misunderstandings (Simonton, 1975). Thus, we must conclude that while pluralism is highly desirable it requires special policies.

Ideally, pluralism would include "good interpersonal relationships" among all groups of persons. How is this to be accomplished? Fundamentally, a good relationship is one where a person receives expected social

behavior from the other person, which does not have negative implications for either the present or the future. One of the problems identified above is that many members of the majority in the United States hold that the melting pot is a good thing, and challenge the minorities to become "just like me." This implies they do not want the others to be different and they do not want to have to adjust their social behavior to take into account the other's culture. They expect the others to behave as members of their own subculture behave; when others behave according to the norms of their own cultures, they are likely to be rejected. Such an attitude is obviously not conducive to good interpersonal relationships.

What can be done? My suggestion, more fully developed in Triandis (1977a), is that we need to develop additive multiculturalism. Here is how this works. There are two kinds of multiculturalism, additive and subtractive. Subtractive multiculturalism occurs when a member of the minority abandons his own culture to become like a member of the majority culture. Of course, he cannot forget his own culture overnight. He keeps some of the old elements, but uses the new culture as his map, to navigate in the new environment. In doing so he loses his identity as a Mexican, Puerto Rican, black, or what not, to become part of the amorphous mass of society. Additive multiculturalism occurs when a member of the majority learns to appreciate the point of view of members of subcultures. It is additive, because by learning about minorities, and how to appreciate their point of view, people do not lose their own identity; they become simply richer. Whites who learn about black culture, or Hispanic culture, do not become less but more interpersonally competent.

The argument can best be seen in the case of learning another language. Hispanics who learn English become less Hispanic, and the more they use English the less they are likely to use Spanish. But Anglos who learn Spanish will not forget English. After all, living in an English-speaking environment guarantees that one has plenty of opportunity to maintain the English language skills. Taking this example over enough of a time period, so that one language can be forgotten, in the case of the Hispanic we may see a person who speaks English, and remembers some Spanish; in the opposite direction that will not occur. The person's English will be just as good, and his or her Spanish will have improved over 10 years of practice. Thus, it is very clear that in the case of the Hispanic learning English, the multiculturalism is subtractive; while in the case of the Anglos, learning Spanish is additive.

Now imagine a society where the school system is organized to make children multicultural, but in the additive sense. They would learn the point of view of blacks, Hispanics and Indians while also learning the European traditions that are fundamental to this country. They would be able to switch to the other's language and appreciate the strong points of the other's culture. "There is a thrill associated with the competence to master different environments, to be successful in different settings. The person who delights in different social settings, different ideologies, different life-styles, simply gets more out of life" (Triandis, 1977a, p. 198). With additive multiculturalism, which incidentally has taken place already in many cities of this country in the area of food (Chinese, Italian, Mexican, Japanese, French, German, etc.) and music, we will see an appreciation of the point of view of others. For instance, we would

all benefit from the Native American's valuing of the harmony of humans and nature, rather than our emphasis on conquering nature and subjugating it (which often means polluting it). Many subcultures emphasize a respect for the elderly which would benefit the majority and reduce the cases of "parent abuse" (middle-aged individuals abusing aged parents) that are now the new concern of social agencies.

"The majority culture can be enriched by considering the viewpoints of the several minority cultures that exist in America rather than trying to force these minorities to adopt a monocultural, impoverished viewpoint which may in the long run reduce creativity and the chances of effective adjustment in a fast-changing world." (Triandis, 1977a, p. 199). Of course, just as I advocate that the majority culture should learn the culture of the various minorities I would encourage the minorities to learn the majority cul[illegible]re. But I think such encouragement is redundant, because they already know they have to do it. So, my emphasis is on what the majority needs to do.

Why is additive multiculturalism relevant to the topic under consideration--productivity? Because there is evidence that innovations occur in heterogeneous societies (Simonton, 1975) much more frequently than in homogeneous societies. So, in effect if innovations are the way to increase productivity it is counterproductive to support the melting pot. Furthermore, studies of group thinking (Janis, 1972) show that groups make errors when there is no minority within them to challenge the assumptions of the majority. The errors of our involvement in Vietnam would have been avoided if the National Security Council had been more heterogeneous, included more dissenters, and did not have so many "yes-men" to

the various presidents. Similar principles are relevant to job design, organizational design, and other decisions that may affect productivity.

Footnotes

1. Paper prepared for the seminar on Heterogeneity in the Workforce and Productivity, Washington, D. C. August 21-23, 1980.

References

Bernstein, B. Social class and linguistic development: A theory of social learning. In A. Halsey, J. Floyd, and C. Anderson (Eds.) Education, economy and society. Glencoe, Illinois: Free Press, 1961.

Brislin, R. W. and Pedersen, P. Cross-cultural orientation programs. New York: Gardner Press, 1976.

Foa, U. and Foa, E. Societal structures of the mind. Springfield, Illinois: Thomas, 1974.

Glenn, E. Man and mankind: Conflict and communication between cultures. Manuscript, 1980.

Hofstede, G. Culture's consequences: National differences in thinking and organizing. Beverly Hills, Calfornia: Sage, 1980.

Inkeles, A. and Smith, D. H. Becoming modern. Cambridge, Mass: Harvard Press, 1974.

Janis, I. Victims of groupthink. Boston; Houghton, Mifflin, 1972.

Robbins, M. C., DeWalt, B. R., and Pelto, P. J. Climate and behavior: A bicultural study. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1972, 3, 331-344.

Simonton, D. K. Sociocultural context and individual creativity: A trans-historical time-series analysis. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 1975, 32, 1119-1133.

Triandis, H. C. Work and nonwork: Intercultural perspectives. In M. D. Dunnette (Ed.) Work and nonwork in the year 2001. Monterey, Cal: Brooks/Cole, 1973.

Triandis, H. C. Culture training, cognitive complexity, and interpersonal attitudes. In R. Brislin, S. Bochner, and W. Lonner (Eds.) Cross-cultural perspectives on learning. New York: Halsted/Wiley, 1975.

Triandis, H. C. Variations in black and white perceptions of the social environment. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1976.

Triandis, H. C. The future of pluralism. Journal of Social Issues, 1977a, 32 179-208.

Triandis, H. C. Interpersonal Behavior. Monterey: Brooks/Cole, 1977b.

Triandis, H.C. Values, attitudes and interpersonal behavior. In H. Howe and M. Page (Eds.) Nebraska Symposium on Motivation, 1979. Lincoln Nebr: University of Nebraska Press, Volume 27, 1980.

Triandis, H. C., Hall, E. R. and Ewen, R. B. Member heterogeneity and dyadic creativity. Human Relations, 1965, 18, 33-55.

Witkin, H. and Berry, J. W. Psychological differentiation in cross-cultural perspective. Journal of Cross-Cultural Psychology, 1975, 6, 4-87.

MARK CHESLER received his Ph.D. in Social Psychology from the University of Michigan. His field experiences have been numerous and he is currently co-directing a pilot study on "Coping Patterns of Families with Children with Cancer," and directing a research project on "Social Organizations" sponsored by the National Institute of Education. His articles have appeared in the Journal of Social Issues and he has co-authored, with J. Crowfoot and B. Eryant, several publications including, "Power Training: An Alternative Path to Conflict Management," "Institutional Changes to Support School Desegregation: Alternative Models," and "Organizational Context of School Discipline: Analytic Models and Policy Options." He received the University of Michigan Distinquished Teaching Award and is a member of the American Education Research Association, American Association of University Professors, American Sociological Association, and is an associate of the Institute for Applied Behavioral Sciences. He is currently Associate Professor in Education at the University of Michigan.

Mark A. Chesler and Cynthia Chertos draw on the recent history of faulty assumptions and false starts in school desegregation efforts to establish parallels in the efforts towards an heterogeneous workforce under Equal Employment Opportunity. They recount many of the ways in which affirmative action is frustrated, and explore some of the subtleties of racist/sexist behaviors in cultural r[illegible]s of the workplace along with conflicting role definitions. They challenge existing research goals and recommend an action agenda using research findings already available.

CZA Incorporated

AFFIRMATIVE ACTION AND THE CONTINUING AGENDA:

ANTI-RACISM & ANTI-SEXISM EFFORTS IN ORGANIZATIONS

Mark A. Chesler
and
Cynthia H. Chertos

Introduction

In this paper we address the need for efforts to alter institutional racism and sexism in organizations. Affirmative action programs that concentrate on problems of access, even equal access, seldom address the need for changes that affect the quality of life throughout heterogeneous organizations. Even affirmative action efforts that concentrate on heterogeneity, or pluralism in the workforce, seldom address the need for vertical as well as horizontal access. Thus, the racial and sexual bases of power in organizations often are left untouched. If those with power make decisions, and if the decisions they make affect the quality of life for organizational members, then minority and female participation in the control of organizations is a vital component of a lasting concern for heterogeneity. Thus, power and pluralism are the twin keys to successful affirmative action efforts and to the reform of organizational racism and sexism.

We begin by examining some problems experienced in trying to implement more effective affirmative action programs. The clarification of our recent national experience in another arena - school desegregation, and an examination of some of the assumptions guiding current affirmative action policies, are intended to spur our thinking and planning. We then explore what lies beyond affirmative action, per se. What is the nature of the continuing agenda of anti-racism and anti-sexism work in organizations? Why do some people and organizations undertake to achieve it, to risk changes in the interest of a more just workplace and workforce? Why do other persons and organizations frustrate that agenda, consciously or uncon-

sciously acting in ways that maintain subtle forms of racial and sexual privilege and advantage? Finally, we discuss some strategies and tactics that might be of use to groups attempting to broaden the affirmative action agenda, trying to create sexual and racial justice in American organizations.

I. Laying the Groundwork: Comparing Efforts Toward Desegregating the School and the Workplace

The history of recent efforts to alter institutional racism and sexism in American organizations does not bode well for our future. Segregation and marked inequality in access to and receipt of public and private services and resources is pervasive. Affirmative action efforts in business and/or governmental employment has to date failed to stem the tide of racism and sexism.[1] Where we do see progress, its future appears dim: it is unlikely to be sustained in the face of economic pressures for workforce retrenchment, layoffs, hiring freezes, and the like. Under seniority systems, women and minorities who were among the most recently hired, also will be among those first to be released (USCCR, 1976). Even when hired and retained, these groups are least likely to be represented in higher levels of organizational status and power.

As we consider ways to increase the efficacy of affirmative action efforts to desegregate the workplace, it may be fruitful to consider the 25 year history of school desegregation efforts. There are some basic

---

[1]While statistics are not often available for individual employing organizations, we do have some aggregate level data which supports this statement. Rozen (1979) tells us that in 1973, about 75% of the employed women were in occupations which were at least 60% female; further, women in blue collar occupations were disproportionately found in capital intensive industries. The U.S. Commission on Civil Rights (1978) cites statistics which indicate that occupational segregation by race and sex has actually increased since 1970. Within a single organization, Kanter (1977) found males and females to consistently occupy different positions; she also cited statistics supporting the fact that this is a broad societal phenomenon. Schrank and Wesely (1977) likewise found in their study of a large bureaucracy of 15,000 non-sales employees, that although women made up 2/3 of the total employee population there were generally "female" jobs and "male" jobs, and "obviously, 'women's place' within the organization (was not found to be) equivalent to 'men's place'" (p. 24).

parallels in these social movements, and in the technical and political problems they have encountered. . .or will encounter.

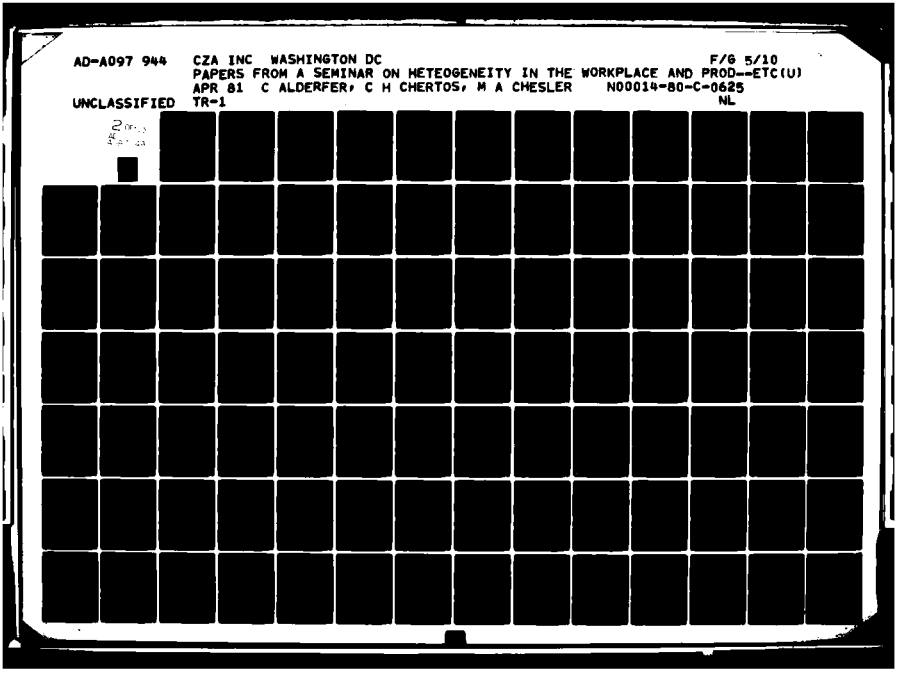
School desegregation has by no means been an unqualified success. Some of our urban schools are no more physically desegregated now than they were 25 years ago.[2] Even where the racial composition of schools has changes, we have only made minimal progress toward racial equality and justice in the outcomes of schooling. These two realities provide a beginning for the parallel analysis between desegregating schools and work organizations. Both affirmative action and desegregation have been designed and implemented on the basis of some naive or questionable assumptions.

Desegregation, like affirmative action, initially was undertaken from a legal commitment/requirement to provide equal access to public services. Reliance upon the courts, often the only agency supporting any form of racial change in education, proved to be a limiting factor. The federal judiciary announced and pursued the constitutionally framed issue of equal access to public facilities and opportunities, but not what it would take to alter unequal opportunities and outcomes. Remedies of equal access did not necessarily guarantee equal opportunity; and equal opportunity may have little meaning unless new organizational situations and experiences permit people to translate new opportunities into more equal outcomes. As a result, we know that desegregation is only the first step

---

[2]Although there are now no one-race school districts, many dual-race districts still have one-race or predominately one-race schools. Full desegregation of schools has proceeded more rapidly in the South than in the North (Weinberg, 1977), with many Northern urban districts now being composed of 75% or more minority students.

AD-A097 944 CZA INC WASHINGTON DC F/G 5/10
PAPERS FROM A SEMINAR ON HETEOGENEITY IN THE WORKPLACE AND PROD--ETC(U)
APR 81 C ALDERFER, C H CHERTOS, M A CHESLER N00014-80-C-0625
UNCLASSIFIED TR-1 NL



toward quality integrated education. In a similar vein, we now realize that workplace desegregation is only the first step toward equal opportunity in the organization, and only the beginning of a more equal (just) distribution of economic rights and benefits.

Desegregation, like affirmative action, initially was undertaken on the assumption that placing people of different cultural (racial) groups in sustained contact with one another would lead to the improvement of minorities' performances and life changes. It became clear, over time, that interracial contacts did not necessarily alter the attitudes and orientations of white and black and brown youth. In fact, they often crystallized and reinforced old stereotypes and hostilities. Early efforts paid scant attention to the creation of organizational conditions (school-wide, playground, cafeteria, classroom, curriculum) that might promote better cross-group relations and improved academic outcomes. In a similar vein, we now realize that factories and social agencies will need to redesign work tasks and roles in order to create positive, interdependent and mutually respectful work relations and social interactions among workers of various races and sexes.

In the early days of desegregation, it was assumed that educational managers would provide good will and high skill in support of the desegregation agenda. Instead, we have seen professional incompetence and resistance in many attempts to create racial change in schools. Many white educational experts and leaders were bound more firmly to the defense of their own privileges and traditions than to a goal of equal education for all. Even with good will or ideological commitment, many did not know how to design, implement and sustain high quality integrated

education. In a similar vein, we now realize that many affirmative action programs have been designed incompetently; many managers lack the skill and/or the will to alter racial and sexual inequality and injustice in the workplace (Pati and Reilly, 1978).

In the early days of desegregation, it was assumed that racial minorities would assimilate easily into predominantly white school systems and cultures. Heterogeneity often meant that it would take some time, but blacks, Hispanics and others would become "like-white." Gradually, it became clear that other people might not want to be assimilated into the white cultural and educational systems. Blacks and Hispanics demanded programs supportive of their own ethnic and cultural identities and aspirations; the creation of a pluralistic educational system turned out to be a very different challenge. In a similar vein, we now know that effective affirmative action efforts require cultural pluralism in the workplace, and not just tolerance of darker skinned "whites", Spanish-speaking "Anglos", or differently shaped "men".

School desegregation remedies generally involved racial mixing programs that placed the greatest burden of adjustment, transportation and change upon minority group members. That seemed appropriate, because the entire process of desegregation appeared "for" minorities. Thus, they were expected to do most of the adapting, relearning, and changing. In a similar vein, it often appears that affirmative action policies are established only for the benefit of minorities and women. Neither education nor economic justice will be achieved if it is conceived solely as another form of charity or noblesse oblige.

School desegregation remedies generally were designed in ways that placed the greatest burden of new interaction patterns of educationally and economically vulnerable whites of working class status. Those schools most rapidly desegregated were located in working class white neighborhoods. In a similar vein, the occupational ranks most rapidly opened by affirmative action efforts are those populated predominantly by working class whites. In both cases, white elites have been protected from the impact of reform.

School desegregation generally progressed as though equal educational opportunities could be attained in school without altering racism in the community's economic, political and social institutions. Later it became clear that revision of school governance and financing, alternative municipal policies (re: taxes and housing), and new relations between schools and colleges or the job market were required. In a similar vein, we now know that affirmative action in the workplace will not be successful over time without altering racism and sexism in the community and throughout the society.

In general, school desegregation was engineered without very systemmatic theories about the roots of racism and segregation, and without sophisticated theories about how schools and other organizations actually operate and change. In a similar vein, affirmative action programs have been undertaken without good and thoughtful theory. Better theories of organizational functioning are necessary in order to understand the omnipresent workings of power and control in the workplace. Better theories of race and sex oppression are necessary in order to understand the stubborn maintenance of inequality in American society.

In addition, we need more sophisticated and daring theories of how patterns of institutional racism and sexism can be changed.

The continuing agenda is to undertake affirmative action efforts in ways that avoid these mistakes and false starts.

II. Why Bother with this Continuing Agenda?

Efforts at organizational reform, of whatever character, are invariably guided by some sense of mission, some more or less articulate purpose or set of goals. In considering the agenda of anti-racism and anti-sexism in a multi-interest group society, many different interests and values must be taken into account. Whites and blacks and browns, men and women, owners or managers and workers or the unemployed, industrial representatives and governmental monitors, all may have divergent interests in, and therefore different goals served by, an anti-racist, anti-sexist agenda. Identifying competing goals or interests may enable us to understand why so many affirmative action efforts fail. Articulating the different interests and goals served by this common program also may lay the ground-work for coalitions of groups in support of anti-racism and anti-sexism work.

For some, the organizational interest served by affirmative action programs is productivity and profit: it often is assumed that greater productivity will flow from a more heterogeneous workforce. Even the title of this conference suggests that the relationship between heterogeneity and productivity is important to consider. But as we suggested earlier, mere desegregation of the workforce may accomplish little except place people who are unaccustomed to being together into contact with one another: it may effect productivity either positively or

negatively (Amir, 1976; Katz and Benjamin, 1960; Katz, Goldston and Benjamin, 1958).

Related to concerns about productivity, it often is argued that heterogeneity is good because it leads to innovation. For instance, in the university setting many affirmative action advocates suggest that more innovative teaching and research take place when the faculty is more diverse (Chertos, forthcoming). In addition, the presence of diversity may encourage imaginative approaches to problems, and thus innovation (Kanter, 1977).

A second interest served by an affirmative action agenda is compliance with the law. Executive orders, judicial decrees and legislation for equal opportunity and affirmative action require a more heterogeneous workforce, not only in terms of race and sex, but also in age, physical ability and disability, and military-veteran status. In a law-abiding society, compliance with at least the letter of the law is a potent factor. But by itself, this explanation is incomplete: it leads to questions of why we have these laws and what interests they serve? One answer suggests these laws are an expression of our democratic cultural norms, and a reflection of our national commitment to equality. An alternative answer is that such laws represent attempts to reduce the threat of disruption of the societal status quo by disadvantaged classes. Bernice Sandler (1974) entitled a paper on affirmative action for women, "The Hand that Rocked the Cradle has Learned to Rock the Boat!", recognizing that women and minorities have the potential to disrupt organizations and communities in pressing their demands for equal access and opportunity.

Organizational responses to legal mandates for affirmative action may be symbolic attempts to head off threats of disruption or to calm potential rebellion.

A third interest, consistent with interests in productivity, legal compliance, and organization peace may be a monetary one. Organizational participation in this agenda might permit retention of government contracts and a reduced vulnerability to law suits.

A fourth interest served by this agenda may be one of comfort and identification with one's peers: everyone else may be involved in it. Affirmative action programs such as training women for non-traditional jobs in the skilled trades, recruiting Hispanics and blacks for managerial positions, or putting women and/or minorities on executive search committees are not only socially acceptable, but in some cases are socially expected organizational efforts (Bryant and Crowfoot, n.d.). Private opinions may continue to be prejudicial; however, in some circles it may no longer be publicly acceptable to be obviously racist and/or sexist.

There are other possible interests served by this agenda. Women and/or minorities may be working in their own self interest, directly engaged in improving their individual and collective situations. Consultants may make substantial fees by assisting organizations to develop programs to reduce institutional discrimination. And some white males engaged in these efforts may be rewarded by their organizations or by their minority colleagues/comrades for their efforts.

Finally, participation in an anti-racist, anti-sexist agenda may satisfy a commitment to social justice. Some argue that white males who advocate an anti-racist, anti-sexist agenda are acting counter to their

objective group interests. In the short run this may be accurate, but in the long run our common survival may depend on advances toward equality and justice. Moreover, the subjective interest in such action may lie in core values of social justice or community actualization. White males with such internalized values are to some extent serving their own interests by participating in this agenda. It may allow them to fulfill their own expectations and raise their personal and social esteem (Terry, 1980).

III. Efforts to Frustrate the Continued Agenda: Why and How?

We have suggested it is important to examine the goals of those advocating an affirmative action agenda. It appears that different interest groups may have different goals. Hopefully all of these interests groups and their goals are supportive of anti-racism, anti-sexism work. Obviously we know that this is not true.

Although various scholars disagree on the concrete details, most agree that a decade of affirmative action efforts has not had a great deal of impact on racial and sexual opportunity and privilege in American life (USCCR, 1978). As Farley concludes his extensive review of the data, "reductions in equality are small when compared to the remaining racial differences on many indicators (1977, p. 206)." How can we explain the continuing problem?

Why is the continuing agenda frustrated?

Some of the reasons for the slow pace of change may lie in the earlier parallels we drew: poor thinking and planning, perhaps on the

basis of faulty assumptions, may have disabled even well-intentioned programs (Pati and Reilly, 1978). Resistance and sabotage also may have played a role in frustrating attempts to alter racial and sexual inequality and injustice in the workplace. In this section we speculate on the reasons for this frustration: not all the explanations are equally valid, and different ones will appeal to readers in different measures.

a. Racism and sexism express some of the dominant values in American culture.

Representing dominant values, racism and sexism influence our thinking and our action as a people. To be sure, these are not the only core values in our society: many observers suggest that equality and a sense of justice are also potent aspects of our ideological and cultural traditions (Myrdal, 1944). At the very least, this cultural schizophrenia makes it difficult to act clearly and forthrightly on an anti-injustice agenda (Livingston, 1979). Competition between these two dominant value frames (equality and justice vs. racism and sexism) often forces racist and sexist values underground; as such, they may have unacknowledged implications for policy.

b. Racism and sexism are basic structural characteristics of the American society and its political/economic organizations.

Historic patterns of racism and sexism long have deprived minorities and women of equal access to economic and political opportunities in this society (Thomas, 1980). Moreover, second order effects of racism and sexism are now utilized to further exclude minorities and women from gaining new access to opportunities. Unequal educational services, inadequate health care, straightjacketed socialization experiences orienting women

and minorities away from advancement opportunities, discriminatory family assistance and support policies, segregated housing opportunities, insurance and mortgage redlining for female and minority-headed families, all make their own direct contribution to oppression and deprivation (Feagin and Feagin, 1978). Moreover, the effects of these policies often are not seen as evidence of discrimination, but as characteristics of minorities and females (e.g. poor education and health, female-headed families, poverty, inappropriate socialization and cultural support for advancement, etc). As a result of such indirect as well as direct discrimination, affirmative action efforts have to deal with more than just the organizational barriers to equal opportunity.

c. As a result of the cultural value frame and the political/economic structures of the American society, racism and sexism are functional to the effective operation of most American organizations.

Some urge that racism and sexism are dysfunctional attributes of a rational economic organization (Reskin and Hodges, 1979). This view of economic rationality reflects the cultural priority on equality and justice suggested above. Racism and sexism are seen as dysfunctional to our way of life. Others argue that racism and sexism are our cultural priorities, and are deeply embedded in the American system. Since most organizations must adapt to that reality in order to make a profit or provide services efficiently, racism and sexism may be functional. Moreover, a secondary or "latent" purpose of most organizations is to maintain stability and predictability in enterprise and in all walks of life (Perrow, 1970). Thus they generally reproduce the society's status system in their internal organization; affluent and protestant white males

are at the top of internal status hierarchies as well as in the society at large. If such parallels between the internal and external environments of organizations did not prevail, top echelons of deviant organizations would not adapt, fit or integrate well with top echelons of the traditional society.

d. Challenging racism and sexism often is tantamount to challenging the power of white males.

Given the status hierarchy of the society in general, and its reproduction within major social institutions, those who are in positions of power in most institutions - the economy, the polity, cultural systems--are primarily white and male. Efforts to alter these status and power hierarchies are not met lightly; white males whose institutional power is threatened by change efforts can be expected to resist and fight back (Thomas, 1980).

One of the ways a relatively small group of white males maintains institutional power in a very large organization or society is to enlist the support of other white and male groups who, for a share of core resources, support the powerful and help administer the subordinate positions of minorities and women. These managers can take advantage of the national residue of racial and sexual prejudice to keep white and black and brown (or male and female) elements of the workforce divided and working against one another. In this manner, workers fail to unite across race and sex lines to challenge the economic dominance of the small elite. Reich (1980) and others have shown that in cities where unions are the weakest (i.e. where managers are strongest in their ability to dominate working classes), black-white wage differentials are the highest.

Thus, exploitation of racial and sexual divisions in the workforce is one element of the larger exploitation of working people in general. This is another way of arguing that racism and sexism is functional to the larger American society; in this case functional to the interests of affluent ruling groups. It is not that these elites "invent" racism and sexism, but that they are able to take advantage of it.

To suggest a further caveat: our national political/economic leadership is at best ambivalent or ambiguous about challenges to racism and sexism. While they may present a rhetoric of equality and justice, they appear unclear, especially about challenges to core cultural values and political/economic power bases (Items a and b). As a result, the change programs they generate and support often fail to lead us forthrightly. Without unambiguous leadership, wavering managers and subordinates may be less willing to take the initiative.

e. Individuals are often relatively unaware of their role in the maintenance and enhancement of racial and sexual injustice.

Those of us who are white and/or male, and who see our current roles and status as being accorded on the basis of merit alone, often deny the considerable role that race and sex have played in providing us with our privileged background and support systems. Few Americans have analyzed racism and sexism well enough to understand their role in it, and the ways they benefit from their demographic status. Thus, few whites and males are prepared to acknowledge their own involvement in the perpetuation of injustice. Without such acknowledgment, why should they feel committed to an agenda of reform? Moreover, failing a coherent historic analysis of discrimination, and of the ways white and/or male power perseveres in

the face of most efforts to alter discrimination, many see affirmative action as "discrimination in reverse." (See Hook, 1977).

f. There are few organizational rewards or incentives for working on an anti-racist, anti-sexist agenda.

The dominant operating motive of American industry, and most governmental and human service systems as well, is self-interest. If there are no visible self-interest gains for working on an anti-racist and anti-sexist agenda, it is not likely to be actively pursued. Thus, it is difficult to see why middle level managers, who respond to internal incentive systems, would expend time and energy in creating a more just workplace without substantial reward. If higher management subtly supports racism and sexism (perhaps by not supporting its challenge and destruction), and if peers support white and male norms and interaction styles, it may well be against middle level managers' immediate self-interest to resist these peer and supervisory standards.

There also may be disincentives, or perceived disincentives, for creating new forms of power and pluralism in the workplace. For instance, a homogeneous workforce is likely to be characterized by relatively common values and interaction styles, and thus minimal overt conflict and competition. This may lead to the perception that a heterogeneous workforce would be more difficult to manage. Moreover, some managers simply do not have the skills to work with a heterogeneous workforce, regardless of the ease or difficulty of the basic task. Teachers may not be used to teaching many different kinds of students at once; forepeople and personnel officers may find they need to understand more than one language dialect; office managers may be unaccustomed to recognizing and dealing

with legitimate racial and sexual differences. Managers' ignorance or internalization of racial and sexual stereotypes may amplify common fears of workgroup incompatibility and the detrimental effects of diversity on their own ability to achieve and advance.

How is the continuing agenda frustrated?

No doubt each reader can add other reasons why the agenda of anti-racism and anti-sexism work is frustrated. Perhaps each will lay special emphasis on some of the foregoing reasons rather than others. Our next question is more operational: how is the agenda frustrated? What is it that people and groups do to frustrate efforts to gain racial and sexual equality in the workplace? What are the tactics, conscious or not, that inhibit the accomplishment of this agenda? Each of us no doubt has been a witness to some of these tactics: here we present a series of common acts seen and heard in organizations.

1. The need for "qualified" minority or female employees is stressed in recruitment efforts.

All organizations hire (or admit) new personnel on the basis of some more or less formal set of qualifications. However, a vigorous stress on the adjective "qualified", only when seeking to add minority or female employees, communicates that one would not normally expect minority or female executives, workers, or students to be qualified, and that one is looking for that special breed of a generally inferior category.

2. Minorities and women are hired and channeled into specially labeled jobs and roles.

This tactic reinforces the notion that some kinds of jobs are "women's work" and some kinds of jobs are "nigger's work." The avail-

ability of only certain kinds of positions for certain kinds of people helps locate minorities in community relations and personnel functions in large organizations, rather than in finance offices or higher power centers (Bowser, 1979; Milward and Swanson, 1979). It locates even "qualified" women in staff rather than line positions (Howe, 1979; Schrank and Wesely, 1977). In addition, some of these specially labeled jobs are dead-ends, without mobility in the power structure of the organization.

3. Minorities and women are hired into isolated roles.

It is common to hire minorities and women into roles that isolate them from their same sex/same race peers (Kanter, 1970; 1977). In this way, the organization prevents development of support groups and cadres that might soften the bittersweet experience of being a token or a pioneer. It also inhibits the formation of constituencies or organized interest groups that might provide the base for organizational change efforts.

4. "Representative" minorities and women are hired and/or promoted without dealing with their "representation" roles.

Alvarez (1979) has drawn a useful distinction between the practice of hiring/promoting some people from a minority demographic grouping (representatives) and including people who advocate the political interests of an oppressed constituency (representation). The few blacks and Hispanics in a mostly white organization, or females in a mostly male organization, often are co-opted into a non-representation role, or into being the agents of higher level white and male power. Only if these people are in some sense accountable to their own political and demographic groups can they "represent" their collective concerns, and help confront underlying themes of racism and sexism in the organization.

5. The denial that there is a need for such programs in this organization.

Some managers respond to the affirmative action request/demand by arguing that his organization has not been a party to discrimination, and thus need not adopt such a remedy. Even if workforce data suggest a conspicuous lack of minorities and women in certain roles, the response may be to demand proof that it is the result of "intentional discrimination", rather than normal employment market processes. This approach is especially common in an agency or firm facing a court battle, where it might be costly for any admission of discrimination to be made. Another form of denial focuses on the remedy itself: affirmative action programs often are not seen as a means to end discrimination; rather they are attacked as a form of "reverse discrimination" (Pottinger, 1977).

When denial begins to fail, delay may accomplish the same frustration. Recognizable tactics may include: canceled meetings, endless arguments about the "scientific" meaning of racism and sexism, unavailability of records, proof required for every assertion, hearings scheduled far into the future, etc.

6. Minorities and women are subtly harassed and pressured.

Sexual harassment has varied forms, and male managers are only now beginning to be made aware of the extent to which women experience sexual (sexuality-based and sex-role based) harassment on the job (Farley, 1978; Mackinnon, 1979). Often enough, men are simply not aware of the extent to which their behavior is offensive, controlling, punishing or compromising to female employees. But even unintentional harassment is harassment. Racial harassment can be just as subtle and elusive . . .or just as crass and oppressive.

7. Minorities and women are excluded from the informal peer system.

A workplace is more than a workplace; it is an arena of social interaction and exchange. If white and male norms pervade and dominate the workplace, and all interactions are controlled by these groups, minorities and women may be excluded from these peer relations. Or, they may be permitted entry only on a stereotypic basis (women asked to get coffee and being subjected to backroom humor, minorities jokingly asked why they're not sticking together, etc). The prevalence of the "old boy" network is an example of an informal peer system that excludes others from information about expected behaviors, advancement opportunities, and ways of getting ahead.

8. Minorities and women are publicly blamed for race and sex problems and for "their" failures.

The maintenance of a stable social order is facilitated when the people who are oppressed and deprived by what is felt to be a fair democratic system are seen as the creators of their own failure and oppression. Then they internalize "blame" (or it is laid to them), rather than identifying systemic forces creating these problems (Ryan, 1976). Women are often blamed for their experiences of sexual harassment . . . "she asked for it." And when minorities fail to gain peer support in the workplace, become lonely and leave, they are seen as failing in the workplace, rather than the workplace failing or excluding them. (Pati and Reilly, 1978).

9. White male norms of leadership are applied to all people.

The cultural definitions of a good leader are based on white male norms. However, these normative standards for leadership are so

embedded in our experience we hardly see them as race and sex based at all, we often think of them as universal, or at least universal to Western society. Consider, however, what happens when women or minorities deviate from these expectations. The "strong and forceful" woman boss is labeled a "tough bitch" or a "ball buster", while a male doing the same thing is seen as true to his sex and his organizational role, even if his behavior is objectionable. The woman is rendered untrue to her sex if true to her organizational role. . .or vice versa (Boverman, et al., 1972). When minority executives or forepeople direct others in ways consistent with their own cultural traditions, they, too, may be seen as practicing inappropriate leader behaviors. If they adopt white traditions of leadership they may be seen as departing from minority status; "he's as good as a white man", "you'd hardly know he was a Puerto Rican." Undoubtedly such conflicting role definitions create a no-win situation for minorities and women.

10. Minimalist actions are taken in working on affirmative action agendas.

Affirmative action efforts are replete with special workshops that teach how to meet federal guidelines with as little effort and change as possible. One of the well-known and legally acceptable "tricks of the trade" is to count Hispanic woman employees as filling two affirmative action criteria at once, thus easing the pressure to hire more minorities or women. Job-groups can be redefined broadly, such that relatively low status positions, disproportionately filled with females and/or minorities, are combined with higher level positions, disproportionately white and male. The combined data create an appearance of a more heterogeneous job group than in fact exists.

11. Top management fails to provide support for affirmative action efforts.

There are many ways to change organizations, and proceeding from the top down is only one of them. However, to the extent that top management provides visible and vigorous support to a change agenda, it appears as a more legitimate effort to those at middle and lower management levels. The failure of top management to desegregate its own ranks, to symbolically lead the affirmative action effort, to reward innovators, or to promote anti-racism, anti-sexism activities, strips the agenda of much of its support within an organization. Sometimes top management provides open and public support, but sabotages affirmative action operations with back-room talk, private conversations, rumors and innuendoes, and the failure to provide incentives and rewards.

12. Control of the affirmative action agenda/office is retained in the hands of the white males.

A troublesome advocacy unit within the organization can lead white male management to try to "capture" the affirmative action office itself. This approach can render impotent the major organizational symbol and instrument of female and minority advocacy and advance. Common examples include (1) making a female or minority head of the office accountable to a white male vice president; (2) requiring dual loyalties of affirmative action officers - to protect the organization as well as female and minority constituencies; (3) selecting a "representative" minority or female officer rather than insuring they "represent" their constituencies (see 4 in this section); (4) controlling the budget of the office from above; and (5) "setting up" divisive competition between women and minority groups for scarce jobs, resources or office prestige. These

tactics appear as natural organizational control functions unless we consider their context and impact on attempts to alter racism and sexism.

13. Leaders of protest groups are counter-attacked.

Especially if a protest cannot be captured (see 12) or co-opted (see 4), some managers respond to affirmative action advocacy by acting against key advocates or protest leaders. Such action may include labeling people as "bra burners", "uppity", and "troublemakers". More vigorous action might include threatening challengers with disciplinary actions, moving them to another organizational unit or role, or even terminating them. Some observers suggest this approach is an example of harassment (see 6) raised to an official level. Then it is even more clearly a "political" phenomenon rather than individual prejudice or discomfort with deviant women or minorities.

14. Control of the organization is retained in the hands of the white males.

One way to frustrate the long-term effects of affirmative action policies is to make some minimal progress at lower organizational levels, while keeping most power and control in the hands of a ruling white male elite. Minorities and women can be denied access to the reins of organizational power, while being offered economic opportunity and even influential participation. Sometimes, as women enter higher management ranks the center of organizational decision-making moves from the boardroom to the bathroom. As minorities move into these ranks, the decisional apparatus may move again, from the bathroom to the clubroom.

15. Ownership is retained in the hands of white males.

After all is said and done, the reins of power in the American society are in the hands of those who manage major organizations and in

those who "own" them. Ownership in the private sector is readily apparent; in the public sector "ownership" is more political in nature and refers to extra-organizational control of policy and program by senior professional or political elites. Even if minorities and women are permitted access to higher executive offices, if they, as groups, do not have access to ownership ranks, they eventually will be without ruling power. Even when women have ownership, they often have it as surrogates of men. As long as ownership remains in white male hands, the last bastion of racist and sexist power lies untouched, and the power to change racism and sexism is rendered inadequate.

IV. Change strategies: What are some guidelines for bringing about effective implementation of the continuing agenda to alter racism and sexism in organizations?

There has been little systematic research on the effective implementation of affirmative action policies, either on the broad societal level or on the more limited organizational level. Perhaps this is because little implementation has occurred, but even what has occurred has not been well documented or studied. While there is a growing body of research demonstrating the existence of racial and sexual discrimination (e.g. Alvarez and Lutterman, 1979), little research has demonstrated how we can alter racism and sexism in organizations. We offer some places and ways to begin. This discussion of change strategies cannot be based on sound and systematic research, but it can synthesize a series of possibilities culled from various arenas.

Change strategies for altering racism and sexism within work organizations can be divided into three categories: administrative changes;

organizational development programs; and community mobilizing efforts. Each of these strategies counters different bases (whys) and mechanisms (hows) for frustrating the affirmative action agenda.

Administrative change strategies are aimed at altering the ways in which organizational activities are coordinated and controlled by managers and other officials. Employees at all levels are accustomed to looking for direction and leadership from supervisors and more senior personnel. If the administrative hierarchy of an organization does not appear comitted to affirmative action policies, and to the procedures and mechanisms that carry them out, other employees will "get the message" and resist "actively or passively". Thus, administrative leadership, through regular channels, is a critical change strategy in affirmative action efforts.

Administrative activities supportive of anti-racism, anti-sexism efforts must start with the establishment and articulation of clear goals and policies. Several scholars of organizational change stress that new policy must be clear and vigorous if lower-level implementation is to occur (Sabatier & Mazmanian, 1979; Van Horn and Van Meter, 1977). Moreover when the policy is as controversial as affirmative action, we can expect some managers to misperceive or distort a policy requiring substantial change; thus the need for clarity is even greater (Nakamura and Smallwood, 1980). Phrases like "equal opportunity" and "organizational commitment" are very abstract. Concrete policy statements, spelling out specific problems and change targets, articulating how these goals relate to traditional goals such as productivity and profit, may go a long way in reducing confusion and resistance.

Other administrative activities supportive of this change effort can include record keeping, normative and task leadership, and daily managerial supervision of new policies. Program planning and budgeting procedures also can permit greater coordination of unit and sub-unit operations. For instance, a well-run research department that monitors recruitment and hiring practices, as well as the organizational conditions for minority and female success, can be of great aid in implementing affirmative action.

The coordination of human resources relevant to affirmative action can be improved by the development of better internal communication systems. Without effective communication systems, there is little likelihood new policies and programs even will be known throughout the organization, let alone implemented effectively. Since women and minorities are less likely to have access to informal communication channels than do white males, it could be helpful to make routine the public information on budgets, salaries, organizational opportunities, imminent problems and long range plans for change. Career ladders or lattices also could be better documented and publicized, especially to those units substantially populated by minority and or female employees. When administrative leaders act on these data, they can serve notice that evasion of new policies, or harassment and other unfair practices, will not be ignored or tolerated. Several scholars stress the importance of challenging non-compliance with new policy directives, and of sanctioning behaviors that frustrate the change agenda.[3]

Coordination of policy and program also can be improved by developing reward structures that encourage adherence to policies of anti-racism,

---

[3]See, especially with regard to court policies, Baum, 1978 and Johnson, 1967.

Organizational development strategies are designed to increase worker motivation and satisfaction, as well as to improve the individual-organizational fit. Specific programs attend to the management of human resources in ways that utilize informal associations and networks among workers as positive forces for organizational goals of productivity and profit, rather than as impediments and obstructions. The improvement and broadening of racial and sexual patterns in interpersonal communication systems, friendship networks, perceptions and attitudes of various groups, and access to influence and participation in organizational decisions are all relevant to implementing an affirmative action agenda.

Rearranging job requirements so individuals can express and satisfy their own work-related needs, especially those tied to different cultural styles and traditions, is critical in this approach. Thus, flextime is one appropriate option: it suggests that not everyone has the same set of outside responsibilities and priorities as the steroetypic white male. It allows further participation from those groups who are excluded or had more difficulty meeting organizational schedules and job descriptions in the past.

Job rotation also could increase the participation rate of organizational members from diverse backgrounds, by increasing the number of workers who can experience and demonstrate competence in a wide variety of organizational roles. Such reorganization of work could be accomplished much like the "rotating chair" in many university departments. The creation of intermediate mobility steps also can be utilized whenever the hierarchi-

cal gap between jobs is so great that there is little movement between them (Kanter, 1977).[4]

Other organizational development efforts are aimed particularly at racial and sexual attitudes and interaction patterns among workers or between managers and workers. Reducing negative stereotypes and allaying fears of intergroup contact often is attempted through mechanisms such T-groups, and through special training sessions focusing on the creation of an integrated workforce. Related efforts can include employees' participation in survey - feedback programs to diagnose common organizational problems. Typically, such programs involve members in problem-solving teams that generate solutions to racial/sexual problems in the organization (Alderfer, et al., 1980).

The establishment of herterogeneous problem-solving teams, and the creation of positive climates in interracial workgroups, can lead to new patterns of racial interaction in the workplace. This is most likely to have positive results when intergroup contact is combined with an interdependent task that requires everyone's resources and commitments (Nishi, 1980). Such efforts could be facilitated by special training in the skills required to contribute to a collective endeavor, to provide resources that are needed, and to generate respect from others (Cohen et al., 1976).

---

[4]Kanter has further agrued that unless organizations open the system up to minorities and women already there, those employees will exhibit low aspirations, lack of commitment, and hostility toward the system. If new jobs are open to internal groups previously barred from mobility, the organization not only taps previously wasted talent, but enhances loyalty and commitment as well.

Organizational development efforts often seek to increase worker involvement and participation in workplace decisions. This approach seems especially important in the attempt to deal with racism and sexism, since it counters minority and female groups' typical exclusion from influence patterns and job-related decision-making. Such efforts cover a broad range, from offering advice and input on local matters to worker participation on unit decision-making committees and boards, to substantial worker influence in the entire organization. Arguing for greater participation in general, Kanter (1977) urges managers to be seen as "planners and professionals" rather than as watchdogs. If power is shared, managers may need to be less concerned with controlling others, and can concentrate more directly on production issues. Pluralizing power centers by including more women and minority members may help insure decisions that "represent" all groups' needs.

Debureaucratizing the organization is another strategy for altering local power relationships. Edwards (1979) suggests that bureaucracy, as a formal mechanism creating impersonal and "universal" patterns of organizational control, developed in order to help manage an increasingly heterogeneous workforce. When workers do (did) not share the background, culture, and/or values of the manager, more intimate and personal forms of control failed. Although bureaucratization seeks apparently universal norms and procedures, modern organizational operations still reflect the particularism of their controlling groups - whites and males (Perrow, 1972). An alternative to replacing this dominant group with another group is to flatten and debureaucratize the organization itself. Flattening the hierarchy of the bureaucracy also can create "more room at the top":

little room has been an impediment to the mobility potential of minority and female employees (Kanter, 1977).[5] By itself debureaucratization doesn't necessarily lead to greater minority access; it must be tied to the development of pluralistic norms of leadership.

These tactics can reduce the tracking and channeling of minorities and women into ill-fitting, stereotyped or isolated roles (frustration mechanisms #2, 3). Development of more sustained patterns of interracial contact also can counter patterns of informal exclusion and lack of access to information and normative expectations (frustration mechanism #7). Greater minority and female involvement in local decision-making roles may reduce the effects of non-representation, of white and male norms of participation and leadership and perhaps the locus of organizational control itself (frustration mechanisms #4, 9, 14).

Community mobilizing strategies of change seek to organize relevant constituencies to create pressure and constraints on the organization. The key to this change strategy is the development of new bases of power. Bases can be created inside the organization, via the development of loyalties among minorities and women and other low-power groups (perhaps in coalition with some authorities). Other bases can be created outside the organization via efforts to organize consumers, clients and neighborhood constituencies

---

[5] A classic example of decentralization and flattening the bureaucracy can be found in Downing's account of the General Electric Company's efforts in the late 1960's (1979). While the intent of this effort was unrelated to affirmative action concerns, one effect was to create a large number of openings at lower and middle-management levels.

to challenge racially and sexually discriminatory policies and programs, and to support internal advocates.

Such efforts can include the establishment of female and minority group networks or caucuses across various levels of the organizational hierarchy. Special orientation sessions for incoming female or minority workers could be conducted in addition to any regular company orientations; these orientations could be planned and executed by the designated group (female/minority), requiring only company sponsorship in providing work time and space. Female or minority workers, who otherwise might be quite isolated in a predominantly white male environment, would have the opportunity to establish contracts and loyalties with others having similar ascribed characteristics and needs.

Taking this approach one step further, the organization could provide work time specifically set aside for "caucuses" to meet.[6] Here women and/or minority group members could discuss or act on whatever issues seem relevant to them, based on their shared identity. The functions of these groups could include: offering personal support to fellow members, developing a broader informal network, providing a mechanism for gathering information relevant to members as a group, or organizing for change. Such caucuses also can be an important source of support for minority/female advocates throughout the organization, especially those charged with affirmative action program responsibilities. All of these efforts heighten

---

[6]For examples of such groups, see Alderfer's (1980), discussion of the Black Manager's Association, and Bryant and Crowfoot's (n.d.) description of minority and female caucuses with representation on decision-making boards.

the possibilities for "representation" of female or minority concerns (Alvarez, 1979).

Strong union efforts to advocate anti-racism and anti-sexism policies also could be relevant as part of this strategy. Although the union movement generally has been an ally of minority concerns and interests (Foner, 1974), local unions have not often taken the lead in affirmative action issues for women and minorities. Their positive action would be a good example of an internal organizing strategy: their lack of action deprives minority and female workers of a key collective resource.

Finally, some strategies are aimed at developing external support and pressure for the alteration of racism and sexism within the organization. For example, an external group could be established to monitor the organization and hold it publicly accountable for racism and sexism within its operation.[7] Monitoring results can be shared through news releases, or in a series of meetings with constituents, managerial authority or other groups. In some communities, attempts to control organizational access to resources such as labor and capital have generated substantial power in support of affirmative action efforts. Other communities have generated minority and female boycotts of organization products in order to force adoption of new policies and programs.

These tactics can reduce some of the social and political isolation of minority and female workers, and increase the representation of their

---

[7]This approach has been tried with various public agencies, particularly those operating under a court order or consent decree to alter institutional discrimination (Cunningham and Carol, 1978; Science, 1980).

collective interests (frustration mechanisms #3, 4, 7). In addition, the mobilization of female and minority pressure groups can solicit or force new responses by organizational authorities, and reduce the dominance of white and male organizational elites (frustration mechanisms #11, 12, 13, 14).

Checking assumptions about altering racism and sexism

The variety of approaches presented to alter racism and sexism in organizations have difficult utility in focusing on goals and policies social relationships and networks, specific tasks or roles, and their support in established patterns of power and privilege. Selection of any one approach, within any specific organization, is based on several factors:

> First, what do we believe about organizations? Are they solely places of profit-production and service-delivery, or are they places where racial and sexual justice should be matters of high concern? Does the public or private nature of the organization make any difference?
>
> Second, what do we believe about race and sex relations? Is the situation of minorities and women the result of their not taking advantage of systemic opportunities, or is it the result of systemic oppression? If oppression, is it peripheral and "dysfunctional" to this society and organization, or is a deeply embedded and "functional" component of all social processes?
>
> Third, what do we believe about affirmative action? Is it a useful program that can lead to gains in the continuing agenda of a racial and sexual equality and justice? Or is it a necessary and short-term evil, best kept unconnected to any larger agenda? Or is it an illegitimate and dangerous effort?
>
> Fourth, what do we believe about organization change? Do we see it as an administrative and technical process of clarifying goals, innovating programs and upgrading skill? Or do we see it as a political process of mobilizing resources and challenging traditional ways of doing business? If both, with what specific mix?

> Fifth, what do we believe is the reality in our local organization? What is the evidence of racial and sexual injustice in this organization? What are the barriers to realization of progress on the continuing agenda of change? What are the resources that can be mobilized?

Dealing with these questions explicitly should assist organizational decision-makers, and advocates at all levels, to make better use of tactics to implement affirmative action programs, and to make progress on the continuing agenda of anti-racism, anti-sexism programs in the workplace.

V. Conclusion

In this paper we have attempted to broaden the common view of affirmative action programs in organizations. We have tried to set an agenda that demonstrates the need to move beyond heterogeneity in recruiting and hiring, to a more general concern with the reduction and elimination of all vestiges of racism and sexism in organizations. Only with such an agenda, and its related goals, can affirmative action efforts be sustained over time.

There are many impediments to realizing this agenda. First, it has no grounding in the law, the dominant force utilized to alter discriminatory policies and programs in major institutions. Second, it has only periodic and uncertain grounding in the value commitments of American managers and workers, service providers and consumers. Racism and sexism are deeply rooted aspects of the American society, even when they are paralleled by commitments to social equality and justice and modest changes. Third, the normal workings of most organizations include racially and sexually discriminatory programs, despite the best efforts of committed advocates of all races and sexes. Thus, it will be hard work. And fourth, our theory and research on anti-racist, anti-sexist work in organizations is relatively unsystematic and unprogrammatic. It barely tells us what to look for, and sheds even less light on how best to proceed.

We noted several organizational mechanisms that operate in ways that frustrate affirmative action efforts, and careful attention to their existence might provide clearer directions for change. We also suggested a series of change strategies that might be employed to counter prevailing patterns of organizational racism and sexism. Where possible, we have drawn attention to theoretical and practical considerations in their use,

and have tried to provide specific examples of tactics that are consistent with each strategy.

References

Alderfer, C. "Measuring Black and White Perceptions of Managerial Dynamics," Paper presented at the Heterogeneity in the Workplace and Productivity Seminar, Office of Naval Research and National Institute for Mental Halth, Wahsington, D.C., August, 1980.

Alderfer, C., Tucker, L. and Tucker, R. "Diagnosing Race Relations in Management," Journal of Applied Behavioral Science, 1980, 16 (2), 135-166.

Alvarez, R., "Institutional Discrimination in Organizations and their Environments," In R. Alvarez, and K. Lutterman (Ed) Discrimination in Organizations, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1979, pp. 2-49.

Alvarez, R.; Lutterman, K. and Associates, Discrimination in Organizations: Using Social Indicators to Manage Social Change, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1979.

Amir, Y., "The Role of Intergroup Contact in Change of Prejudice and Ethnic Relations," in P. Katz (Ed.), Towards the Elimination of Racism, New York: Pergamon Press, Inc., 1976, pp. 245-308.

Baum, L., Police responses to appelate court decisions: Mapp and Miranda. Policy Studies Journal, 1978, 7, 425-435.

Bowser, B., "An Empirical Model for Measuring Racism in Large Scale Organizations. In R. Alvarez and K. Lutterman (Eds.), Discrimination in Organizations, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1979, pp. 174-188.

Boverman, I.K. et al., "Sex Role Stereotypes: A Current Appraisal," Journal of Social Issues, 1972, 28, 59-78.

Bryant, B., and Crowfoot, J., "Issues Raised by Affirmative Action in an Innovative Organization," School of Natural Resources, University of Michigan, unpublished manuscript, n.d.

Chertos, C. Policy Formation and Implementation: Affirmative Action and Non-Discrimination in the University, Ph.D. dissertation, University of Michigan, forthcoming.

Cohen, E., Lockheed, M. and Lohman, M., The Center for Interracial Cooperation, Sociology of Education, 1976, 49, 47-58.

Cunningham, L. and Carol, L., Court-ordered monitoring of school desegregation, Theory in Practice, 1978, 17, 81-85.

Downing, G.E., "The Changing Structure of a Great Corporation," in R. M. Kanter and B.A. Stein (Eds), Life in Organizations, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979, pp. 274-290.

Edwards, R., Contested Terrain: The transformation of the workplace in the 20th Century, N.Y., Basic Books, 1979.

Farley, L., Sexual Shakedown: The Sexual Harassment of Women on the Job, New York: McGraw Hill, Inc., 1978.

Farley, R. "Trends in racial inequalities: Have the gains of the 1960's disappeared in the 1970's?" American Sociological Review, 1977, 42, 189-208.

Feagin, J. and Feagin C., Discrimination American Style: Institutional Racism and Sexism, Englewood Cliffs, N.J., Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1978.

Foner, P., Organized Labor and the Black Worker: 1619-1973, N.Y., Praeger, 1974.

Hook, S., "The Bias in Anti-bias Regulations," in B.R. Gross (Ed.), Reverse Discrimination, Buffalo, Prometheus Books, Inc., 1977, pp. 88-96.

Howe, L., "Retail Sales Workers," in R.M. Kanter and B.A. Stein (Eds.), Life in Organizations, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1979, pp. 239-251.

Johnson, R., The Dynamics of compliance, Northwestern University Press, Evanston, 1967.

Kanter, R., Men and Women of the Corporation, New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1977.

Kanter, R., "Some Effects of Proportions on Group Life: Skewed Sex Ratios and Responses to Token Women," American Journal of Sociology, 1976, 82, 965-990.

Katz, I. and L. Benjamin, "Effects of White Authoritarianism in Biracial Group," Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology, 1960, 61, 448-456.

Katz, I., J. Goldston and L. Benjamin, "Behavior and Productivity in Biracial Work Groups," Human Relations, 1958, 11, 123-141.

Livingston, J.C., Fair Game? Inequality and Affirmative Action, San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, and Co., 1979.

Mackinnon, C.A., Sexual Harassment of Working Women, New Haven: Yale University Press, 1979.

Milward, H. Swanson, C., "Organizational Response to Environmental Pressure: The Policy of Affirmative Action," Administration and Society, 1979, 11(2), 123-143.

Mydral, C., An American Dilemma: The Negro Problem in Modern Democracy, New York: St. Martin's Press, 1980.

Nishi, S., "Comparisons of Heterogeneity and Productivity in Corporations," Paper presented at the Heterogeneity in the Workplace and Productivity Seminar, Office of Naval Research and National Institute of Mental Health, Washington, D.C., August, 1980.

Pati, G.C. and Reilly, C.W., "Reversing Discrimination: A Perspective," Labor Law Journal, 1978, 9-25.

Perrow, C., Complex Organizations: A Critical Essay, Glenview, III.: Scott, Foresman and Co., 1972.

Perrow, C., Organizational Analysis: A Sociological View, Belmont, Ca.: Wadsworth Publishing Co., Inc., 1970.

Pottinger, J., "The Drive Toward Equality," in B.R. Gross (Ed.) Reverse Discrimination, Buffalo: Prometheus Books, 1977, pp. 41-49.

Reich, M., "Changes in the Distribution of Benefits from Racism in the 1960's," Paper presented at the Conference on the Impact of Racism on White American, Institute for the Study of Contemporary Social Problems, April 1980.

Reskin, B. and Hargens. L., "Scientific Advancement of Male and Female Chemists," in R. Alvarez and Lutterman, K. (Eds) Discrimination in Organizations, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1979, pp. 100-122.

Rozen, F., "Women in the Work Force: The Interaction of Myth and Reality," in E. Snyder (Ed.), The Study of Women: Enlarging Perspectives of Social Reality, New York: Harper and Row, Publishers, 1979, pp. 79-102.

Ryan, W., Blaming the Victim, New York: Random House, Vintage Books, 1976 (Revised Ed.).

Sabatier, P. and Mazmaniam, D. The conditions of effective implementation, Policy Analysis, 1979, 5, 481-504.

Sandler, B., "The Hand that Rocked the Cradle has Learned to Rock the Boat," in E. Sells (Ed.), Toward Affirmative Action, San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, Inc., 1974, pp. 1-22.

Schrank, H. and Wesely, Y., "Sex, Rank and Mobility in a Complex Organization," Paper presented at the Research Symposium on Social indicators of Institutional Racism and Sexism, April, 1977.

Science. Ending sex-discrimination in academia. 1980, 208(6), 1120-1122.

Terry, R. "Impact of White Racism on White Value and Actions", Paper presented at Conference on Impact of Racism on White Americans, Institute for the Study of Contemporary Social Problems, April, 1980.

Thomas, R., "Racial and Sexual Revolution in the American Workplace," Paper presented at the Heterogeneity in the Workplace and Productivity Seminar, Office of Naval Research and National Institute for Mental Health, Washington, D.C., August, 1980.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Social Indicators of Equality for Minorities and Women, Washington, D.C., 1978.

U.S. Commission on Civil Rights, Last Hired, Last Fired: Informal Hearings, Washington, D.C., October 12, 1976.

VanHorn, C. and Van Meter, D. The implementation of intergovernmental policy, Policy Studies Annual Review, 1977, 1, 97-120.

Weinberg, M. Minority Students: A Research Appraisal. Washington U.S.G.P.O., 1977.

MIGUEL DAVID TIRADO, as recipient of an Abraham Lincoln-Benito Juarez Doctoral Research Fellowship, received his Ph.D. from the Claremont Graduate School of Political Science. He received Master's degrees from the Johns Hopkins University School of Advanced International Studies and the Middlebury College Graduate School. He has long been involved with issues concerning Hispanic Americans expressed in publications on: "Ethnically Based Districts and the 1980 Reapportionment," "Role of Labor Unions in Enforcing Employment Standards for Mexican Migrants," "Structural Factors of Mexican Migration to the United States and the Status of Mexican Americans," and others. He is presently Consultant on Research Training for the Labor Council for Latin American *Advancement*.

Miguel D. Tirado points out some of the inconsistencies in the attributions ascribed to Hispanic workers in current research findings. He calls for an exploratory multi-dimensional approach to research that focuses initially on the relationships between early work experience and the development of attitudes towards work. This approach, he says, will benefit Hispanic workers and supervisors.

CZA Incorporated

MINORITY ATTITUDES AND BEHAVIOR IN THE WORKPLACE - THE CASE OF THE HISPANIC WORKER

Miguel Tirado

Minority Attitudes and Behavior In the Workplace-The Case of the Hispanic Worker

The study of racial and ethnic minority attitudes and behavior involving work is a relatively recent phenomenon. The abundance of material on other facets of the minority personality far exceeds the attention given to the concerns of the working element of this population. Yet recent employment statistics reveal a steady increase in the percentage of Hispanic and other minorities entering more skilled occupations.[1] Because of the increases in the numbers of minorities entering modern industrial work settings and the dissonances thus created, the paucity of research on work related attitudes and behavior becomes a serious concern. By ignoring such critical issues as minority worker adaptation to the workplace, skill development and optimal management approaches for supervising them, students of the minority population have failed to focus enough attention on the entrance and integration of growing numbers of these workers into the mainstream of the American labor force.

Unfortunately those studies which have focused on the minority and more specifically the Hispanic worker often have suffered from a unidimensionality in their explanations of their performance. By focusing upon primarily cultural or ethnic determinants of behavior, a number of these scholars have consciously or unconsciously promoted an image of these employees as markedly distinct from other segments of the labor force. The Hispanic worker, for example, has been identified by these culturally focused studies as possessing a significantly greater authority need than other workers.[2] Thus Hispanics are presumed to have a greater need

for authority, and more structured work situations than other Americans because of culturally prescribed child rearing practices of overprotectiveness and dependence on the family.

Similarly, culturally based explanations for Hispanic behavior have singled out communalism or the need for a personalistic group identity as essential characteristics of this work force. Szalay stresses that the Hispanic emphasis is on ". . .unity and union, which stresses the idea of fusion of separate entities into a coherent whole such as a group, community or culture thus forming a new identity."[3] In the workplace this analytical perspective calls for the institution of special incentives for Hispanics such as "group bonuses" which conform to these ostensibly more communal instincts.

At the same time the cultural approach to explaining Hispanic behavior asserts that individualism is a key element of their behavior. In comparing Anglo Americans with Hispanics, Szalay argues that "only the Anglo Americans express a need for people and others in general and they reveal consistently stronger needs than do Hispanics for family and friends."[4] The purpose in pointing out these inconsistencies in the culturally based approach to explaining ethnic or racial minority behavior is not to abandon the role of cultural background as a determinant of work related behavior; rather it is to urge a more balanced view of the origins of minority attitudes toward the workplace. Specifically, greater attention must be placed on the role of economic hardship and previous and current work experiences in explaning the behavior of racial and ethnic minorities at work.

Referring back to the presumed need for communalism of Hispanic workers, for example, one can easily find an economic rationale for these supposed attributes in the necessity of lower income individuals to rely on family ties and friendships for one's survival. As for their ostensive deference to authority, this presumed characteristic may be a rational response to earlier work experience involving an authoritative highly structured environment with little opportunity for independent discretion or initiative.

Another culturally influenced perception related to participation is the level of cognitive skills of Hispanic workers. The presence of univeralistic value traits arising from a predominately rural heritage is seen as impeding mastery of certain problem solving techniques corresponding to the modern workplace. These presumed cognitive attributes have been identified by others as factors in reduced productivity levels of certain Hispanic workers.[5] Yet these same studies seek to explain these differentials in terms of initial job experiences characterized by low pay and limited opportunities for advancement, or their formative pre-labor market years when minorities received a low quality education which provided them with a relatively low level of embodied skills.[6]

The presumption that minority workers possess certain culturally based attributes that reduce their relative productivity levels in comparison with other workers must be scrutinized more thoroughly. Studies completed by Charles Weaver and Norval Glenn, in contrast, have determined that productivity of Hispanic individuals tends to be as great if not greater than Anglo workers.[7] The differences in the findings of these students of Hispanic worker productivity can be attributed in part to

the different methodologies employed in which relative earnings differentials are utilized to identify productivity levels by controlling employment discrimination and productivity related personal attributes. In contrast the supporters of high Hispanic productivity levels rely upon efficiency ratings and other indicators of job performance obtained from personnel records of employing organizations. The confusion over the methodological approach to be used in analyzing Hispanic worker performance is further engendered by the lack of a clear definition of productivity itself. Ranging from the conceptual emphasis of Harry Triandis on the amount of effort expended, to the mathematical equations of Long and others, the wide variety of definitions of productivity in the context of a multi-ethnic workforce leads one to question whether the effort to identify relative performance levels to different ethnic and racial groups is a fruitful one. Until the definition of productivity or performance evaluation is more clearly established, a grave danger exists in applying present instruments to the ethnically diverse work groups.

Apart from the resultant contrasting array of perceptions of the minority worker illustrated above, the greatest danger in this unidimensional approach is the tendency for these studies to promote management attitudes and approaches which compartmentalize or segregate minority workers from the rest of the workforce. In their efforts to tailor work experiences to reflect the culturally unique attributes of minority workers, supervisors may seek to compartmentalize or segregate minority workers from the rest of the workforce in order to deal with their "unique needs." This, in turn can promote discrimination towards minority employees on the part of both supervisors and other co-workers. While correctly advocating a need to adapt general management approaches to specific attributes of the minority employee, the primary preoccupation of this

research with ethnically based justifications can reenforce existing prejudices by lending credibility to existing culturally based steroetypes of minorities held by employers and co-workers.

Rather than identifying culture or ethnicity as the primary determining factor in understanding ethnic or racial minority work related behavior, a more constructive direction for research may lie in focusing equally on the role of past and current labor market experiences in forming the individual's habits and behaviors toward work. Research is needed on the extent to which Hispanic work related attitudes and behaviors, and those of other minorities, are primarily a result of the individual's adaptation to work experiences. Recent studies of modernization in developing countries suggest that workers of divergent ethnic and cultural backgrounds absorb the norms of modern industrial work environments and express these norms through their own attitudes and behavior toward work. Alex Inkeles makes this point well in these remarks from his study of work related behavior in six developing nations:

> Insofar as men change under the influence of modernizing institutions they do so by incorporating the norms implicit in such organizations into their own personality and by expressing those norms through their own attitudes, values and behavior. In the great majority of cases they do not respond by moving away from or reacting against these norms.[8]

He goes on to assert that "the model which predicts a negative reaction, which expects the new labor force in industrial countries to respond to industrialism by developing a counterculture is simply wrong." A more recent study of minority job satisfaction in the U.S. military also noted that minority personnel restrain their cultural expression on the job while reaffirming their culture off the job.[9]

The assumption of both these works is that the specific experience of the workplace induces the ethnic or racial minority individual to alter his or her attitudes and behavior in the work context while preserving their distinctive values and cultural traits outside of the work setting. Correspondingly, the work related attributes developed by a low income minority youth in a marginal employment situation may neither conform to the dominant norms of either his own cultural heritage or those of a modern industrial work environment. Certainly the experience of minority Hispanic youth in this country would justify this absorption of marginal work habits. What with the unemployment rate for these youths well over twenty percent[10] and underemployment of urban workers in poverty areas around thirty-one percent, the casual nature of the work experience is likely to produce attitudes and behaviors towards work which are ill suited for primary sector jobs in industry or government service. The concentration in lower status jobs of minority workers employed full time is also a cause for concern. As James Long notes "Spanish origin males whose initial jobs were characterized by low pay and limited opportunities for advancement can never completely ma up the earnings losts due to past discrimination.[11] These frustrating work experiences may explain the greater job dissatisfaction among minorities and may contribute to any observed lower levels of productivity among these workers.[12]

The increasingly critical labor market experiences of more skilled minority workers also may be a major determinant of their attitudes and behavior towards work. Recent evidence compiled by the Vice President's Task Force on Youth Employment suggests that minority workers tend to be more influenced by aggregate labor market conditions than white workers.[13]

Since most are relatively new to the more skilled occupations, these minority workers are more sensitive to fluctuating labor market conditions produced by inflation and recession. These conditions, in turn, can cause an interruption in their upward mobility, an erosion of their recently acquired skills through job downgrading and possible unemployment.

Here, in the case of the Hispanic worker, is an example of possible congruence of cultural traits and labor market factors in determining the status of the minority worker in the workplace. Due to the Hispanic worker's close family ties evidenced by the fact that three-fifths of all Hispanic youths (ages 18-21) live at home compared to 55 percent of white youths, they are less able or willing to move in search of new jobs. Consequently, they tend to be even more adversely affected by these labor market adjustments than non-Hispanic workers.

An additional ramification of economic imbalance is the impact of economic conditions on worker attitudes and values towards work. In those developing countries, especially in Latin America, with long experience in inflationary economics, a marked decline in the morality of the workplace frequently results. In response to a decline in job security, one observer has noted that "the moral values of honesty, industry and saving not only offer no guarantee of a secure future but may represent an irrational approach in an inflationary situation."[14] The perceptions of some minority workers as untrustworthy, apathetic or uncommitted to their work may describe more the legacy of an individual's rational efforts to cope with the irrational economic conditions of their past or current job experiences.

The impact of the above labor market considerations on minority workers could lead to their initial difficulty in responding well to work norms of a

modern industrial work setting. Recognizing the growing number of Hispanics and other minorities entering the workforce, employers in both the private and military sectors are feeling increasing pressures to further incorporate these workers into their labor forces. Yet little guidance is available to these employers regarding how to most effectively supervise a multiethnic workforce. As mentioned earlier much of the research conducted on ethnic or racial group relations is of relatively little use to them in managing a large scale competitive private enterprise or government bureaucracy.

This low level of understanding of Hispanic and other minority work related behavior requires that future research be of an exploratory design in which the critical variables affecting behavior are analyzed and the relevant relationships clarified. The primary variables to be evaluated fall into two categories. First are those individual centered factors which potentially influence the minority worker's attitudes and behavior. They include: (1) Cultural background of minority worker. This refers to those values, attitudes, and behavior patterns which have traditionally been ascribed to an ethnic or racial minority group by the proponents of culturally based explanations for ethnic or racial minority behavior. In the case of the Hispanic, typical cultural based attitudes and behaviors would include authoritarianism, communalism or personalism, individualism, and fatalism, and (2) educational background. This critical variable involves the impact of formal education attainment on the work related behavior of minority employees. Both James Long and Albert Niemi stress the significance of education in the development of those cognitive skills necessary to achieve optimal productivity levels and correspondingly higher earnings for minority workers. Yet the works of James Coleman,

Ivar Berg and others raise questions regarding the relative significance of this variable in providing minority youths with the attributes necessary for success. An analysis of the educational background of the respondents in the surveys would help to shed some light on the relative importance of this ingredient and how it interacts with the previous variables to determine an individual's work related attitudes and behavior.

In addition to analyzing the possible interaction of these individual centered variables, research is needed on the relative significance of a second set of factors relating to the prior and current workplace experiences of minority workers. Based on the documented impact of the work environment on an individual's behaviors and attitudes at work, studies are needed to test the effect of marginal work experiences of low income minority workers on their current work habits in primary sector jobs, and the influence of these modern industrial work settings in altering unproductive work related behavior over time.

Among the work centered variables are those involving the structure of the work and those involving the attitudes and behaviors of supervisors. Elements of the work structure to be considered in light of their impact on minority work related behavior include the degree of structure in the work experience. Does, for example, the work involve a sequential structure or are work teams employed? What relevance does the technology employed have on the worker's attitude and behavior? A key relationship to be studied is the relevance of group-oriented work teams involving interdependence in completing a task vs. individual oriented work experience for determining minority performance and job satisfaction. How in turn are the culturally presumed attributes of authority need and individualism reconciled by

these divergent work structures? What role in turn does educational background and prior work experience play in influencing the preference of minority workers for one type of work structure vs. another?

The second work centered variable to be scrutinized is the attitude and behavior of the supervisory personnel in determining the work related attitudes and habits of minority workers. The first step in evaluating this variable is to determine what are the perceptions these supervisors have of minority worker performance when compared to their average employee and what is the correlation of this with more objective nonreactive measures of performance. Next they should be asked to explain the differences in performance. Lastly research is needed to determine the flexibility of the supervisors' perception of minority workers and their resultant treatment of them.

The supervisors' flexibility in the treatment of minority workers should be scrutinized in light of the degree to which they feel it necessary to structure the work experience, the level of worker participation in decisions tolerated, and the level of personal consideration transmitted to minority employees in comparison with other workers. The relative adaptiveness of these supervisors to altering these approaches is an important consideration in determining the type of remedies needed to improve the interaction between supervisors and minority personnel. Is training of supervisors or other more direct forms of behavioral reenforcement such as rewards needed? To what extent are changes in the individual centered variables such as educational level and work related habits of the employee going to induce a corresponding change in the supervisor's attitudes or behaviors? These are critical issues for determing whether efforts to

provide minority employees with survival skills in the workplace will lead to reenforcement of these newly learned attributes by responsive supervisory personnel.

The above interaction of these variables offers another argument for a more balanced explanation of the behavior of ethnic and racial minorities in the workplace. By focusing on a single factor alone, the significance of the interplay of these elements tends to be ignored. Future research on the subject of minority group work-related attitudes and behaviors, therefore, must include all the variables determining the work experience of ethnic and racial sub-groups. Only by incorporating a multi-dimensional approach into the study of this subject can future research provide the managers of multi-ethnic workforces with useful insights into effective ways of promoting productivity and the mutual accommodation of minority personnel within the workplace.

Footnotes

1. Barbara Dunn, "Working Conditions of Hispanic Youth", in the Youth Knowledge Development Report - Special Needs Group, A Profile of Hispanic Youth, published by the Office of Youth Programs, U.S. Department of Labor, March 1980, p. 22.

2. Manuel Ramirez, "Identification with Mexican Family Values and Authoritarianism in Mexican Americans," Journal of Social Psychology, vol. 73, 1967, p. 3-11, Miles Simpson, "Authoritarianism and Education, A Comparative Approach, Sociometry, June 1972, pgs. 223-234 Stanley Einstein and David Laskowitz, "Attitudes toward Authority among Adolescent Drug Addicts as a Function of Ethnicity, Sex and Length of Drug Use," in E. Harms (Ed.) Drug Addiction in Youth, Vol. III, Oxford, pp. 86-89, 1965.

3. Lorand Szalay, "Cultural Considerations, A Guide for Mental Health Service Programs in the Hispanic Community," Institute of Comparative Social and Cultural Studies, 1978, p. 55.

4. Szalay, Ibid., p. 102.

5. James Long, "Productivity, Employment Discrimination and the Relative Economic Status of Spanish Origin Males, Social Science Quarterly December 1977, v. 58, pgs. 353-373. Albert Niemi, Jr. "Wage Discrimination against Negroes and Puerto Ricans in the New York SMSA. An Assessment of Educational and Occupational Differences, Social Science Quarterly, 55, June 1974, p. 112-120.

6. Long, Ibid, p. 370, Niemi, Ibid, p. 120.

7. Charles Weaver and Norval Glenn, "Job Performance Comparisons: Mexican Americans and Anglo Employees," California Management Review, Fall 1970 vol. XIII, no. 1.

8. Alex Inkeles and David Smith, Becoming Modern, Individual Change in Developing Countries, Harvard University Press, 1974.

9. Kenneth Wilson and John Sibley Butler, "Race and Job Satisfaction in the Military," The Sociological Quarterly, 19, Autumn 1978, pgs. 626-638. Lorand Szalay also observes this phenomenon of cultural adaptation with Filipinos in the Navy (Lorand Szalay and Jean Bryson, "Filipinos in the Navy: Service, Interpersonal Relations and Cultural Adaptation," American Institutes for Research, January 1977, p. 136.

10. Richard Santos, "Employment Status of Hispanics," in Youth Knowledge Development Report-A Profile of Hispanic Youth, Department of Labor, p. 10, March 1980.

11. James Long, op cit., p. 370.

12. Barbara Dunn, op cit., p. 42, Long, op cit., p. 355.

13. Vice Presidents Task Force on Youth Employment: A Review of Youth Employment Problems, Programs and Policies, January 1980.

14. F. Harvey Poppell, "How Inflation Undermines Morality," Business Week, May 5, 1980.

CZA Incorporated

HARRY CHARLES KATZ earned his Ph.D. in economics from the University of California at Berkeley. Since leaving Berkeley, he has continued o pursue his major fields of interest in labor economics and industrial relations, and state and local government finance through publication of numerous articles in many publications. Among these are: "An Essay on Subsidized Employment in the Public Sector," "Municipal Pay Determination: The Case of San Francisco," "When is Productivity Bargaining Necessary?," "Labor Relations and Personnel Utilizations in the Boston Public School System: The Tensions of Desegregation and Reduction," "Wage Rules: A Theory of Wage Determination," and others. He is presently Assistant Professor of Economics and Management at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

CZA Incorporated

Harry C. Katz reviews some of the unique problems in terms of pressures that the public sector encountered in adapting to affirmative action requirements and predicts some startling new directions for public concern in the eighties. Among the forces at work that give rise to the prediction are declining employment in the public schools, shifting political alliances, the role of the courts, and the looming problems presented by undocumented workers.

CZA Incorporated

ETHNIC DIVERSITY AND PUBLIC SECTOR LABOR RELATIONS

Harry C. Katz

INTRODUCTION

In recent years government employers at federal, state and local levels have taken steps to increase the employment of minorities. The expansion of employment opportunities for these groups has necessitated a number of changes in the personnel practices and labor relations of the public employers. Many of the revisions in personnel practices which ensued were common to the private sector as well where employment opportunities for minorities were simultaneously expanding and changing. In that way, the government was by no means unique in the problems it faced or in its adaptations to the changing composition of its workforce. Yet, in a number of other important ways, the public sector faced some unique problems in adapting to its new wor orce.

This paper analyzes some of the personnel and labor relations issues that arose in the public sector as a consequence of the expansion of employment opportunities for minorities. Our intent is to focus on those sorts of problems and issues that were particularly troublesome in the public sector. To provide some background we first review some of the pressures for increased ethnic diversity in the public sector. We then turn to a discussion of some of the problems provoked by these pressures and the various government's response to the pressures. And finally, we report the results . case study of personnel and labor relations policies in the Boston public stem. As we will see, many of our general observations are illustrated by issues that have arisen in the Boston school system. Some of those issues are a consequence of the desegregation effort underway in Boston in the 1970's. But, in a large part, Boston's problems are typical of those of many public sector employers.

PRESSURES FOR ETHNIC DIVERSITY

The most significant pressure for the expansion of employment opportunities for minorities was the political activism which began in the 1960's. The roots of that activism include the civil rights movement, the increased enfranchisement of blacks and the more general social activism which marked the era. The direct consequence of that activism was an expansion of the political power of minority groups. Indirect, though no less important, consequences included the initiation of legislative, judicial, and administrative efforts to expand minority employment opportunities. The government as an employer, immediately felt the brunt of these efforts.

Since political activism initiated the pressure for increased minority opportunity, it was only natural that political action quickly turned to an arena where it could have a direct effect on employment opportunities, namely, at the government as employer. In this way, the public sector came to bear a special responsibility. One can come to that observation without minimizing the importance of the steps taken to reform the employment practices of the private sector.

Another consequence of the role of political activism was that political pressure for revised public sector employment practices was often greatest in particular locations. For example, the nation's central cities have undergone sweeping demographic changes in the post World War II period leading to majority or near-majority minority representation in many of those cities. With the increased enfranchisement of minorities in the 1960's, that representation demanded a response from municipal employers. It should be noted that in many cities the prospects for demographic transition in the 1980's is for increased minority representation. In the 1980's the

source of that representation will be documented and undocumented aliens rather than the domestic and rural-to-urban migrants of early years.

One of the results produced by this political pressure is the heavy representation of blacks in government employment. That representation is particularly high among certain categories of black workers. For example, Richard Freeman in Black Elite notes that "in 1970 nearly half of black male and two-thirds of black female professionals worked for governments compared with less than one-third and just one-half of all male and female professionals, respectively." (p. 154).

More recently critical pressures for the expansion of minority employment opportunities include the activities of the U.S. Justice Department and the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission. One reads daily of suits, consent decrees, and guidelines which are produced by those agencies. But, it is important to remember that their focus is not just on private employers. Just last week the press reported the Justice Department's attainment of consent decrees mandating the increased employment of minorities by the police department in Cincinnati and county governments in Florida.

A third pressure for revised public employer hiring practices involves desegregation efforts in the nation's local public school systems. As part of their efforts to desegregate local public schools, Federal courts have issued hiring orders which require the increased employment of black teachers. The importance of those hiring orders should not be underestimated. It should be remembered that employment in public schools represents upwards of 50% of total local government employment which itself was an area of substantial growth in the 1960's and the early 70's. The growth in the employment of public school teachers did not continue in the mid

1970's which is the source of some of the problems we discuss in more detail later. At this point it is interesting to recognize that hiring mandates which arose as part of desegregation was another pressure unique to the public sector.

LABOR RELATIONS AND PERSONNEL POLICY ADJUSTMENTS

The increased employment of minorities has necessitated some revisions in the personnel procedures of the respective government employers. As with the assimilation of any new employees, this employment expansion requires the initiation of some in-house training efforts. New employees, be they minorities or not, do not immediately fit into a long standing job structure or work group. Personnel manuals are full of suggestions as to how best to accommodate new employees. It is not our intent to dwell on such matters. Instead, we would like to address a special set of problems that might follow the increased employment of minorities.

For example, increased minority employment may initially disrupt work group cohesion. Either the antagonistic racial attitudes of existing employees or a more benign resistance to change may lead to initial work group problems. One might expect that work group cohesion is of particular importance in work situations in which personnel interactions are greatest. Work invironments where team spirit is necessary for personal safety as in the public safety areas of police and fire protection require such intense personal interaction. In these situations the employment of minorities may initially require efforts to strengthen work group cohesion. But this is not a problem in particular parts of the public sector only. A number of jobs in the private sector, construction work for example, require work group cohesion to insure personal safety. Public safety forces may

be only one occupation among many where this problem arises.

A more significant problem is created when the expansion of employment opportunities for minorities clashes with the opportunities available to non-minority workers. One manifestation of this problem is the clash between seniority promotion procedures and affirmative action. As any student of this field knows, there has been no clear public policy resolution to these competing claims. On the one hand, in the 1976 Teamsters case the U.S. Supreme Court sided for the preservation of "bona fide" seniority systems. On the other hand, more recently in the Weber decision the Court strengthened its protection of affirmative action plans and more specifically, strengthened the use of voluntarily negotiated affirmative action plans.

The confrontation between seniority and affirmative action is certainly not limited to the public sector, but it is a problem that is likely to repeatedly arise in the public sector in the 1980's. At its core a trade-off between adherence to seniority and attainment of affirmative action arises because of limited employment growth. In an expansionary environment the trade-off could easily be accommodated. It is in an environment of inadequate growth that the gains of one group of employees directly jeopardize the potential gains of another group. The public sector is likely to repeatedly confront the seniority-affirmative action trade-off in the 1980's because of the prospects of limited growth in that arena. In an era of taxpayer revolts and Proposition 13 type initiatives it is difficult to foresee anything but limited growth in many public sector jurisdictions.

The local public schools are an area where an era of reduction has already replaced earlier expansion, brought about by the massive declines

in the school age population that led to cutbacks in staff levels. At the same time, in major urban areas in response to both desegregation and increasing minority representation in both the school age and taxpaying populations, efforts were made to increase the number of minority teachers. The seniority-affirmative action dilemma immediately came to the fore as those hiring efforts confronted existing seniority promotion provisions. Later in this paper we discuss the course of that confrontation in one particular school system. At this point our intent is to suggest that this dilemma is likely to arise repeatedly in the public sector in the near future. Furthermore, the seniority-affirmative action trade-off in our opinion stands out as one of the major public policy problems that will arise as a consequence of increased ethnic diversity in the public sector.

The seniority-affirmative action trade-off will be exacerbated in the public sector because of another change already underway in the structure of employment in the public sector. That change is the shift toward increased employment at provisional, part-time or what can be called "secondary" status. Although national statistics on this point are impossible to come by, my reading of evidence from a sample of jurisdictions suggests that the 1970's marked a shift in the public sector towards secondary employment. In part, that shift was a natural consequence of the wave of unionization which occurred in the public sector from the mid 1960's on. As unionization led to increased wages for regular status employees, public employers shifted to the employment of provisional or part-time employees as a cost-cutting device. The macroeconomic and political instability that characterized the 1970's reinforced a desire on the part of public officials for greater hiring flexibility. The

use of secondary status employees provided some of the desired flexibility. And finally, it appears that the expansion of public service employment in the 1970's aided the expansion of secondary employment. By the late 1970's public service employment approached 10% of total local government employment in the country. Furthermore, in line with federal regulations public service employment was at lower pay and outside the domain of regular civil service employment. In that way, public service employment became a funding mechanism for the shift to secondary employment.

The problem posed by this expansion in secondary employment is that it coincided with the increased employment of minorities. As a result, minority employees often became over-represented in secondary versus regular public sector employment. Public service employment, which often came to subsidize secondary employment, included efforts by the Federal government to target job creation on minority populations. Federal regulations for public service employment involved the establishment of proportionate minority hiring targets.

Newly hired minority public sector employees were thereby often employed with secondary employment status; sometimes as a direct consequence of federal regulations. But, the intent of affirmative action is to promote minority attainment of full-time, regular status employment. The creation of provisional or part-time jobs filled by minorities falls short of that goal. Furthermore, the expansion of provisional status employment added another element to the seniority-affirmative action trade-off. Whether intended or not, the hiring of provisional status employees provided a less severe threat to seniority employees by giving senior (and regular) employees elevated status. Separating newly hired employees

into provisional status also sharply reduced the likelohood that any lay-offs would spread into the ranks of regular status employees. Later, we will discuss the role permanent teachers played in promoting the use of provisional status teachers in the Boston school system.

The increased hiring of minority employees poses a number of challenges to the conduct of labor relations in the public sector. For one thing, increased minority representation often upsets established political alliances within any union that represents a particular category of public employees. Events force the union to identify a policy stance with respect to minority hiring, the use of provisional employees and the seniority and affirmative action trade-off. Changes in the ethnic composition of the work group may in some situations lead to gradual political realignments and gradual changes in union policies. Yet, in other situations those realignments may take a more explosive form as entrenched union leadership acts to protect its own interests and resist accommodation. Whatever the form of this transition in union leadership and/or policies, it is likely that labor-management relations will at least temporarily be destabilized. Management will find it difficult to negotiate with a union that is trying to resolve its own internal political problems. In that way, a union's internal political problems can spill over into its external relationships.

Another problem for the union, and one that is also largely the exclusive concern of public sector unions, is the necessary adjustment to the changing ethnic composition of the taxpaying public. Public sector unions are always heavily dependent on the surrounding public for a measure of support for their bargaining demands. As a result, public sector unions pursue policies that both try to forge alliances with existing community

groups and policies that seek to alter local political relationships to the union's advantage. The changing ethnic composition of either the workforce or the taxpaying community will influence those policies. For example, a public sector union must consider how its stance regarding the seniority-affirmative action trade-off affects community support for its other bargaining demands. This is another example where the public sector union's internal policies critically interact with the union's "external" relationships.

The accommodation to a changing ethnic composition in the workforce certainly arises as an issue for private sector unions as well. As my colleague Phyllis Wallace has noted, a critical element in the origins of the Weber decision was the United Steelworkers initial efforts to negotiate an affirmative action program in the aluminum industry. That union policy was in large part spurred by the increased minority representation among the union's membership. Public sector unions are however different because of the heightened importance of political factors.

THE BOSTON PUBLIC SCHOOLS

This section of the paper traces the interaction between the policies of the Boston Teachers Union and the desegregation of the Boston public schools. As we will see, as desegregation has proceeded it has come to involve a number of complex issues such as the tradeoff between seniority and affirmative action. In addition to being complex, there are also issues which now confront teachers unions and a lot of other union throughout the nation. Much of this complexity has been induced by new pressures within the system such as changing and declining enrollments. In our attempt to understand union policies it will be necessary to trace the

origin of some of those new procedures. We first briefly outline the history of desegregation in the Boston schools.

On June 21, 1974, Judge W. Arthur Garrity, Jr. of the First Circuit Court of Appeals found that the Boston School Committee had unconstitutionally fostered and maintained a segregated public school system. That court decision arose out of a suit filed by the NAACP on behalf of black school children and followed investigations by the Federal Department of Health, Education, and Welfare. Judge Garrity concluded that through an array of policies the Boston School Committee had fostered segregation and had actively worked to avoid enforcement of the Racial Imbalance of the State of Massachusetts. Through feeder patterns, and enrollment and transfer policies two subsystems had been created in the Boston schools. One subsystem was 71% non-white and contained grades 1 through 5, 6 through 8, and 9 through 12. The other subsystem was 76% white with schools of grades 1 through 6, 7 through 9, and 10 through 12. They were existence of such subsystems made voluntary desegregation efforts difficult. In addition, the court concluded that the use and location of school facilities were designed to promote segregation.

Faced with the complicated task of implementing desegregation, the court found it necessary to order a remedial desegregation plan that involved three phases. In the face of the short period of time that remained between the court's initial June ruling and the start of the upcoming school year in September, the court ordered that the first phase of desegregation (to take effect in September 1974) involve the implementation of an existing state "redistricting" plan originally designed to bring Boston schools in compliance with the state's Racial Imbalance Act.

Judge Garrity then ordered the Boston School Committee to develop a full plan to desegregate the Boston schools. The School Committee failed to submit to the court a comprehensive desegregation plan and thereby thrust the design of desegregation back into the hands of the Federal Court. Judge Garrity, with the guidance of an appointed panel of experts, designed an extensive desegregation plan (Phase II) to be implemented starting in the fall of 1975. In the spring of 1976 the desegregation plan was modified further by the court in what came to be known as the third phase (Phase II-B) of the desegregation effort.

The complete desegregation plan included new community school districts, citywide magnet schools, and the busing of school children. In addition, various councils of parents, teachers, and school officials were established by the court to monitor compliance with the court orders and facilitate community involvement in the desegregation process. At times throughout the desegregation process, these various councils clashed with one another or with other participants within the school system. Later, we discuss a recent dispute that emerged between parents and teachers. Although Judge Garrity has suggested that he would like to completely return administrative responsibility to the Boston School Committee, as of the summer of 1980 the court was still continuously involved in insuring compliance with its orders.

The Boston Teachers Union (BTU) was not pleased with the desegregation order. Early on the BTU had expressed its opposition to the state "redistricting plan" which had been designed to bring Boston schools in conformance with the 1965 State Racial Imbalance Act (that redistricting plan was later implemented as Phase I of Judge Garrity's desegregation

order). The union, like many teachers in the school system, was unsympathetic to charges that the school system was blatantly discriminatory and required major restructuring to set it right. In addition, the BTU argued that reorganization of the school system would be "too educationally disreptive." Instead, the union favored an expanded program of magnet schools and voluntary transfers.

The BTU was particularly upset about the large number of teachers transfers and reassignments that were produced by desegregation. These transfers and reassignments followed the creation of new schools, the closing of a number of schools, and large scale reorganizations of within-schools programs which were all part of the desegregation plan. The Boston Teachers Union estimates that from one to two-thousand teachers were transferred as part of desegregation. To facilitate those transfers, the court felt it necessary to overrule existing language in the collective bargaining agreement between the Boston School Committee and the teachers union which regulated transfer rights. The court argued that both the speed and the magnitude of the transfers precluded the use of the elaborate bidding and rating transfer procedures outlined in the collective bargaining agreement.

Once cour-ordered desegregation had begun the BTU repeatedly petitioned Judge Garrity for relief from extensive teacher transfers and reassignments. The union also petitioned for a delay in the implementation of the additional phases of Judge Garrity's desegregation plan. The teachers union protested that mandatory transfers violated the placement rights teachers had accumulated through years of service.

The union's complaint against the desegregation plan involved procedural as well as substantative issues. The BTU adamantly protested the process by which the court overrruled parts of the existing collective bargaining agreement between the union and the School Committee. The union had another procedural complaint as well, namely, the union's limited involvement in the design of the desegregation plan. Having grown accustomed to negotiating with the School Committee over policy changes that affected personnel, the union was upset by the court's control of decision-making authority. Of course, the union's procedural and substantive complaints were interrelated. The union wanted a more active voice in desegregation decision-making so as to influence the decisions being made.

By the fall of 1977, the bulk of the restructuring of school programs and boundaries initiated by Judge Garrity's orders had been completed. From that point on, the aspect of the desegregation process which precipitated the most heated response from the BTU was Judge Garrity's effort to provide greater racial balance in the teaching staff of the Boston school system. To induce change in the racial composition of the faculty Judge Garrity issued a number of "hiring orders." Judge Garrity's hiring orders initially may have appeared to be only an incidental part of his complete desegregation orders. Yet, those orders have had important consequences for the teachers union and the school system as a whole. A review of the history of those hiring orders, to which we now turn, will provide a background for our analysis of the union's response to those orders.

Judge Garrity's initial hiring order of July 31, 1974 included a number of components. The order set out as a goal that black teachers

comprise 20% of all teachers in the Boston public school system. In the 1973-74 school year black teachers made up 7.1% of the total. To attain the 20% figure Judge Garrity ordered that the school system hire one black for each new white teacher hired, to the extent that qualified black candidates were available. In addition, Judge Garrity order the immediate hiring of 280 new permanent black teachers. Implementation of that part of the order alone increased the percentage of black teachers in the system from 7.1% to 10.7%.

The judge also outlined procedures the school department should follow in order to recruit additional black faculty (such as appointing three black recruiters). To assist in monitoring compliance with its orders, the court required the preparation of long range recruitment plans and periodic reports describing recruitment efforts and hiring figures.

The school department complied with Judge Garrity's order to hire 280 new permanent black teachers for the 1974-75 school year, but then proceeded to dramatically alter its hiring policies. From September 1975 on, the Boston school department continued to hire a number of new teachers, but only hired new teachers on a provisional basis (one year contracts) and discontinued the hiring of permanent teachers.

The motives behind this switch in hiring policy are not all clear. A substantial degree of uncertainty surrounded enrollment levels and the future course of court mandates. In the face of that uncertainty, the school department may have looked to the employment of provisional teachers as a device to deal with uncertain and changing manning requirements. In addition, school officials may have turned to provisional teachers as a cost-cutting device. Provisional teachers enter at lower salary levels

and receive fewer fringe benefits than permanent hires. But, the school department rehired many of the provisional teachers year after year and lost some of these economic benefits when an arbitrator ruled that in conformance with state law a provisional teacher (like a permanent teacher) acquires tenure and many of its accompanying benefits after working in the system for three consecutive years.

An alternative motive for the school department's policy may have been that it provided a way in which the school department could avoid the hiring of blacks. In his January 28, 1975 hiring order Judge Garrity included a provision that allowed the school department to rehire any provisional teacher employed the year before and not be bound in such rehiring by the one black for each white requirement. The Judge later lamented the consequences of that exception as the school department continually rehired white provisional teachers. That policy and the difficulties the school department allegedly encountered in recruiting qualified blacks led to slow progress in meeting the court's goal of a 20% black teacher workforce. As of the 1975-76 school year the percentage of black teachers stood at 11.4% (it was 10.4% in 1974-75) and rose to 15.6% by 1978-79.

Table 1 reports the racial composition and the date of hire of the provisional teachers employed in the 1978-79 school year. These figures illustrate that it was not until 1977-78 that the school department actually attained the spirit of Judge Garrity's one for one hiring rule. It is also important to note the sizeable number of provisional teachers that were hired from 1975 on. Note, this hiring occurred when the school department was no longer hiring new permanent teachers and the number of permanent teachers in the school system steadily declined largely through

attrition. The total number of teachers has declined from 5443 in the 1975-76 school year to 5187 in 1978-79.

TABLE 1

BREAKDOWN OF WHITE, BLACK AND OTHER MINORITY PROVISIONAL TEACHERS EMPLOYED IN 1978-79

Year First Hired	Black	White	Other Minority	Total
1978-79	207	61	66	334
1977-78	75	72	31	178
1976-77	58	138	49	245
1975-76*	81	185	36	302
Totals	421	456	182	1059

From "Report of the Number of White, Black, and Other Minority Permanent and Acting Administrators," School Committee of Boston, March 14, 1979, Table ii.

*Provisional teachers with more than three years of continuous service acquire permanent status and tenure.

Whatever the motives for the school department's shift to the hiring of provisional rather than permanent teachers, the exclusive hiring of new teachers on a provisional basis could not have helped the school department's efforts to recruit black teachers. Much of this recruitment activity involved trying to encourage black teachers to shift into the Boston system from other school systems in the Boston metropolitan area or from school systems in more distant locations. The absence of new permanent teacher contracts must have made this already difficult task more difficult.

Frustrated by the school system's slow progress in increasing the number of black teachers, Judge Garrity modified his hiring orders further

on July 5, 1978. The new orders mandated that except for the rehiring of third year provisional teachers, all hiring and rehiring of teachers be done on a basis of one black for one white until there is an annual 1½% increase in the percentage of black teachers in the school system. The court thereby blocked the school department's policy of continually rehiring a disproportionate number of white provisional teachers.

With system-wide black employment at 15.5% of the total employment in the 1978-79 school year, if the school system met only the 1½% per year minimum, it would take three years until the court's goal of 20% black employment was attained. In its new orders the court rejected motions entered by the plaintiffs in the desegregation case to either grant existing black provisional teachers "super-seniority" in future hiring decisions or mandate the immediate awarding of tenure of black provisional teachers who had completed at least one year's teaching experience in the Boston system.

As an interested party, the Boston Teachers Union submitted a response to the plaintiff's motion which preceded Judge Garrity's revised hiring order of July 5, 1978. In that response that union adamantly expressed its opposition to "any order which gives preferential treatment to black provisional teachers." Instead, the union recommended strict adherence to the seniority principle as the guideline for appointments.

In the face of increased minority representation among teachers the BTU's attitudes towards Judge Garrity's hiring orders did not go unchallenged within the union. After hearing a report concerning the plaintiff's motion and the official union response to that motion, in a general meeting union members voted to establish a special committee to "formulate a posi-

tive BTU position on minority hiring to be submitted to" a later meeting of the membership. The special committee later met and formulated a list of proposals which included support for the goal of a 20% or more black teaching staff and encouraged the adoption of measures to increase minority recruitment. The BTU executive board later strongly voted down those proposals were tabled. The union's general opposition to the court's hiring goals continued.

The dispute over the racial composition of teachers in the Boston school system has introduced a choice between seniority or affirmative action. In this way, the dispute has become a classic example of the dilemma which has plagued courts and unions throughout the United States in recent years. In this case, the union has unequivocally sided for the preservation of seniority. That choice can, in part, be explained by the fact that the strict preservation of seniority rights serves the interests of the older, white, permanent teachers--the politically powerful component of the BTU's membership. In addition, the BTU, like most other unions, finds it extremely difficult to contemplate the abandonment of the seniority principle which has served as one of the basic tenets of the American collective bargaining system.

The preservation of seniority rights is now so important to the BTU because of the threat of teacher layoffs in the Boston school system. That threat is a consequence of the massive enrollment declines that have occurred in the Boston school system in the 1970s. In 1965 total enrollment in the school system stood at 94,035. Enrollment climbed to 97,344 in 1970 and then declined to 84,988 in 1975 and by the end of the 1979-80 school year stood at 67,527.

Some of that enrollment decline was caused by desegregation as white parents either shifted their children to private schools (mostly parochial) or moved out of the city to avoid desegregation. However, much of the enrollment decline was due to the end of the post World War II baby boom, the aging of the Boston population, and the consequent reduction in the number of school age children living in Boston. Whatever the cause, the magnitude of the drop in enrollment was enormous. For example, if class size was kept constant at the level of 25 students per class and teacher workloads remained constant, the drop in enrollment of 29,817 which occurred between 1970 and 1980 would facilitate a potential reduction of 1193 teachers (or 23% of the total number of teachers in 1973-74).

As in the seniority-affirmative action dispute, the hiring of provisional teachers created a situation in which the BTU has chosen to side with the interests of its traditional membership. When reviewing the course of relations in the 1970s between the BTU and the school department it might at first seem surprising to learn that the BTU did not adamantly resist the increased hiring of provisional teachers and the halt in the hiring of permanent teachers. No union likes the wage and benefit reductions that accompanied the shift from permanent to provisional contracts and one might have expected the BTU to firmly resist the change in the school department's hiring policy. Yet, the BTU appears to have acquiesced rather passively to that new hiring policy.

In fact, it can be argued that the BTU took a number of steps to exacerbate the differences in the status of permanent and provisional teachers. One such step was the union's negotiation of a job security agreement (a school department promise not to layoff) covering only per-

manent teachers in the 1975 contract settlement. Union actions concerning job security continued to protect only permanent teachers when the "excess" procedure regulating seniority and bumping rights negotiated in the fall of 1978 excluded teachers on provisional status.

The BTU's actions, as in the seniority vs. affirmative action dispute, can be explained as part of the union's efforts to protect the interests of the traditional and politically dominant component of the union's membership, namely, the older permanent teachers. There was an ever present possibility that the School Committee would respond to declining enrollments by laying-off teachers. The existence of a separate class of teachers with provisional status provided some assurance to permanent teachers that any layoffs that did occur would not spread into their own ranks. Steps such as limiting the coverage of the excess procedure served to further insulate permanent teachers from the threat of layoff.

When responding to a layoff threat by acquiescing in the creation of a "protected" and "unprotected" class of workers, the BTU was following a road previously traveled by a number of other unions. For example, in the 1950s in the Westcoast longshoring industry, containerization brought the threat of worforce reductions. The longshoremen's union responded by creating a similar two class system--one class of protected senior workers who received job security and another class of unprotected junior workers who lacked any job security.

The permanent teachers in the Boston schools were threatened not only by the massive declines in enrollments. The changing composition of school enrollments posed a threat to the older permanent teachers because that shift in enrollment composition was leading to a movement away from

traditional subjects and towards special educational programs. To understand that threat it is necessary to first consider the various forces that were causing changes in the composition of school enrollments.

There are two dimensions to the changes that occurred in enrollment composition. One shift involves a steady increase in the fraction of black and other non-white students. The percentage of students who are non-white in the Boston public schools rose from 23% in 1964, to 32% in 1969, 44% in 1975 and stood at 52.2% in June 1980.

A second shift in the composition of students in the Boston public schools was induced by the passage of state laws such as the Comprehensive Special Education Law of 1972. That state law mandated that children with special needs due to physical or mental disabilities be educated at local public schools rather than at home or at special facilities. Although not affecting the composition of students per se, other factors in the 1970s also led to significant changes in the educational curriculum in the Boston public schools. One such factor was the Transitional Bilingual Education Act of Massachusetts passed in 1971 which required the availability of bilingual educational instruction. Funding provided through federal Title I programs under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act also contributed to shifts in the curriculum by funding remedial reading and other programs to assist students from "disadvantaged" backgrounds.

One measure of the shift in the composition of the student body and curriculum is provided in statistics that report the distribution of teachers by curriculum area. While the number of teachers assigned to "regular education" declined from 4531 in the 1975-76 school year to 3947 in the 1978-79 school year, over the same period the number of "special

education" teachers in the Boston school system increased from 701 to 967. As the area of growth, special education programs also became the place where minority teachers hired to satisfy Judge Garrity's goals were assigned.

These shifts in the curriculum were a particular threat to permanent teachers because permanent and provisional teachers in general specialized in different curriculum areas. Permanent teachers were generally teachers who specialized in instruction in the traditional school subjects. Provisional teachers, on the other hand, were primarily teachers who specialized in bilingual or special needs instruction. The BTU's response to the plaintiff's motion for a revised hiring order contains a passage which provides evidence that permanent teachers felt that their job security was threatened by provisional teachers. The BTU's response reads, "The Boston Teachers Union opposes automatically giving permanent contracts to existing provisionals without regard to the staffing needs of the system..." (emphasis added). The response goes on to state that the "Boston Teachers Union supports the School Committee's policy of withholding an offer of appointment until the presently permanently appointed staff has been placed..." (emphasis added).

BTU policies which exacerbated the differentiation between permanent and provisional teachers did create some internal political problems within the union. Provisional teachers, as an increasing fraction of the teacher workforce, struggled to redirect the policies of the BTU. It is important to note that tensions were increased between these teacher groups because of the large minority representation among provisional teachers. In addition, provisional teachers were on average a much younger workforce then the permanent teaching staff. Both the youthfulness and the racial

composition of the provisional workforce led them to oppose the BTU's long standing opposition to desegregation and the union's preference for more modest minority hiring goals. In addition, provisional teachers demanded that the BTU more aggressively push their particular interests, such as increased salaries, benefits and job security for provisional teachers, in contract negotiations with the School Committee.

In many of their complaints against traditional BTU policies, the restive provisional and minority teachers had the support of many teacher's aides, another increasingly important fraction of the BTU's membership. By 1978-79 there were approximately 1500 aides in the school system. And, like provisional teachers, a large fraction of the aides were either black or some other minority. In the 1975-76 school year 43.4% of all aides were black and 10.6% were other non-white minorities.

Dissension within the ranks of the BTU led to the creation of a slate of candidates (the New Unity Coalition) which ran for positions on the union's executive board in elections in the spring of 1978. That slate was comprised heavily of minorities, provisional teachers and aides, and supported policies that would have promoted the interests of all three of those groups. Although the slate failed to elect anyone to the executive board, its strength in a primary election signalled the presence of significant dissension within the union.

One can speculate as to how the union's internal political balance will respond to these new claims. A possible course is for union policies to gradually shift so as to accommodate the desires of the newer members. Alternatively, the union's leadership and policies may continue to be dominated by the traditional membership--the older, predominantly white,

permanent teachers. Following this latter scenario, at some point in time an explosive struggle for control of the union may occur between the traditional groups in the union and a coalition of minority and provisional teachers and aides.

As well as struggling over its internal alignment the BTU is faced with the task of directing its relationship with external parties such as the court and the Boston community. As discussed earlier, the BTU has generally been opposed to the thrust of Judge Garrity's desegregation and hiring orders. And yet, as the desegregation process has continued, the BTU has at times found that there are advantages to court involvement in the school system. For example, until the spring of 1980, in fights over the extent of school closings the BTU frequently found itself on the same side of Judge Garrity in opposition to cutbacks proposed by Mayor White or the School Committee. Teachers wanted to stop school closings in order to protect their jobs while Judge Garrity acted to protect the desegregation effort. More recently, the BTU supported the successful efforts to overrule Judge Garrity's orders to close 13 schools.

In the past, the BTU has supported steps taken by Judge Garrity which insured the fiscal solvency of the school system. In the Spring of 1976, the union supported an order issued by Judge Garrity that forced Mayor White to fund a full school term even though the School Committee had accumulated a large deficit.[41] If at some point in the future the School Committee decides to impose substantial layoffs of teachers, the BTU may very well find itself petitioning Judge Garrity for assistance. The union is likely to find itself in the unusual position of arguing minority hiring targets.

The BTU's ambivalent feelings toward the court have an interesting parallel in New York City's experience with decentralization. In New York, as in Boston, the teachers union (in this case the UFT) was initially adamantly opposed to court intervention in the school system. The teachers union in New York feared that court-ordered decentralization would upset the working relationship the union had established with the central school board. But, over time the teachers union in New York has discovered that decentralization provided the union with political advantages. The New York City union, like the BTU, has learned that although court involvement disrupted the status quo, it did not produce a completely unfavorable environment.

The BTU's relationship with community groups and parents is marked with the same ambivalence that characterizes the union's relationship with the court. As a public sector union the BTU is dependent upon parents and the wider community for support of its bargaining demands with the School Committee. Without that support, the bargaining power of the BTU would be severely weakened.

Teachers and parents have found a commonality of interests on a number of issues. Teachers and parents frequently joined together in support of expanded school programs and in opposition to school closings. Yet, as part of the desegregation process a number of disputes have arisen in which the BTU and parents stood on opposing sides. The following episode is one example. To monitor desegregation the court created various parent and "citizen advisory" groups. A clash occurred in the fall of 1979 when parents entered the classroom as part of their efforts to monitor compliance with the desegregation order. Teachers and the BTU resented the intrusion

of parents into the classroom fearing that it might lead to potential involvement in evaluations of teacher performance. The union petitioned the court to stop the practice. Judge Garrity then upheld the rights of parents to enter classrooms. Other union policies which favored permanent teachers put the union in alliance with some parental groups and in opposition to other parents who supported the claims of minority and provisional teachers.

CONCLUSION

Is it possible to provide a simple summary of the interaction between the policies of the Boston Teachers Union and the desegregation process? In the early phases of desegregation it may have been possible to describe the BTU's response in fairly simple terms, namely, opposition to desegregation. More recently, however, the issues have become much more complex. The BTU is now responding less to the desegregation effort per se, than to issues such as the seniority versus affirmative action tradeoff. These new issues are as much products of externally generated pressures that are now impinging on the school system as they are direct products of the desegregation process. Efforts to respond to these new pressures, rather than the desegregation effort, are now of greatest concern to the Boston Teachers Union and the Boston public school system.

CZA Incorporated

CLAYTON P. ALDERFER is Professor and Director of Advanced Management Studies at the Yale University School of Organization and Management and the author of more than 40 articles and two books in the areas of organizational behavior and organizational change. He is a member of the editorial boards of Journal of Applied Behavioral Science and Personality and Social Systems, and co-author of Wiley's series, Advances in Experiential Social Processes. Having obtained a B.S. from Yale University in 1962 with high honors and a Ph.D. from the same institution in 1966, he is an accredited charter member of the International Association of Applied Social Scientists, a diplomate of the American Board of Professional Psychology, a fellow of the American Psychological Association and of the Society for Applied Anthropology, and a member of the American Sociological Association. With J. Richard Hackman, he won the 1972 Cattell Award for creative research design from the Division of Industrial and Organizational Psychology of the American Psychological Association, and with Charleen Alderfer, Robert Tucker, and Leota Tucker he won the 1979 McGregor Award for the best article combining theory, practice, and values in planned social change. His special areas of interest include human needs in organizations; group and intergroup dynamics; organizational and diagnosis and development; race relations in organizations, and board-management relations in organizations.

From 1966 to 1968 he served on the faculty of the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration at Cornell University, and from 1968 to the present he has been a member of the Yale faculty. From 1976 to 1979 he served as Director of Professional Studies in the Yale School of Organization and Management. He has taught in management development programs at Cornell University, the University of Michigan,

the University of the West Indies, Bell Laboratories, the National Training Laboratories, and General Electric. He has served as an organizational development consultant to numerous private and public institutions.

Clayton P. Alderfer reports on the entry of stress factors related to race into previously homogeneous upper management circles and provides a useful delineation of power relationships and group definitions through an introductory essay. After reporting the results of the study, he addresses its implications for productivity.

CZA Incorporated

MEASURING BLACK AND WHITE PERCEPTIONS OF RACIAL DYNAMICS IN MANAGEMENT

by

Clayton P. Alderfer
Robert C. Tucker
David R. Morgan
Fritz Drasgow

Abstract

Intergroup theory includes propositions asserting that language, mean differences, and patterns of understanding about intergroup events will arise as a function of group membership. This research developed an empathic questionnaire through interaction of a black-white, female-male research team with a similar organizational microcosm group. The content of the questionnaire consisted of statements made by people in interviews with a race-sex alike interviewer or in group discussions with other members of their own race-sex groups. Data from 337 managers who had completed the questionnaire were analyzed using simultaneous factor analysis in several populations. Results showed four factors that were invariant across the black and white samples, mean differences between blacks and whites on all four factor scales, and different patterns of correlations among the factors for the two racial groups. Interpretation focused on the explanatory effects of overall satisfaction, ethnocentric patterns in both groups, and different modes of defense used by black and white people to manage the tensions associated with racial dynamics.

MEASURING BLACK AND WHITE PERCEPTIONS OF RACIAL DYNAMICS IN MANAGEMENT

Spurred by the civil rights activities of the 1960s and supported by the affirmative action decisions of the 1970s, organizations that once were exclusively white in their managerial ranks have changed to include black members. In limited numbers and often in special roles, blacks have now entered middle and upper middle management levels of predominantly white organizations. These changes in the composition of the managerial

work force bring the tensions associated with contemporary race relations to an arena that has previously been without racial problems because it has been without racial differences.

The entry of blacks into the management ranks of predominantly white organizations poses special problems and challenges for organizational researchers (Purcell and Cavanagh, 1972; Fernandez, 1975). In light of the long history of racial discrimination in the United States, there is little reason to expect that the structural change can be achieved without stress. Indeed, the deeply held racial attitudes and the prevalence of racism in the United States call for major new insights and substantially improved strategies for change if the consequences are not to be destructive for the individuals, groups, and organizations who are involved, (Kerner and Lindsay, 1968; Jones, 1972; Alderfer, Alderfer, Tucker, and Tucker, 1980).

THEORY

Intergroup theory provides a conceptual framework for investigating and understanding race relations in organizations. The intergroup concepts used in the present study both draw upon the results of earlier research and utilize concepts developed especially to deal with the dynamics of intergroups relations embedded in organizations (Summer, 1906; Coser, 1956; Sherif and Sherif, 1969; Blake, Shepard and Mouton, 1964; Levine and Campbell, 1972; Deutsch, 1973; Alderfer, 1977; Alderfer and Smith, 1980). Key elements in the theory include a definition of groups in organizations and a series of propositions about intergroup dynamics in organizations.

Definition of Groups in Organizations. Studying group relations in organizations calls for a definition of a group that takes account of both

internal and external variables in group life. Most recently the social psychology of group behavior has tended to focus primarily on the internal (i.e., interpersonal) dynamics of group life (Cartwright and Zander, 1968). The internal emphasis on group behavior arose largely as a function of methodology; experimental psychologists controlled external environments of groups in order to study their internal dynamics. The original research stimulating interest in group life, however, did not focus exclusively on internal dynamics; it involved research from the field rather than the laboratory. The concrete experiences encountered by investigators in the field balanced outward and inward orientations (Homans, 1950). More recently further developments in the concept of group life in organizations have arisen not only because researchers have worked in the field but also because they have taken active roles in attempting to bring about change in organizations using group methods (Miller and Rice, 1967; Rice, 1969; Alderfer and Brown, 1975; Alderfer, 1977).

The definition of groups-in-organizations used in this work deals with both internal and external properties. In addition, it takes account of the multi-level nature of group life and differentiates the external environment of groups specifically to take account of relations with other groups (i.e., intergroup relations). The definition states:

> A human group is a collection of individuals (1) who have significantly interdependent relations with each other; (2) who perceive themselves as a group by reliably distinguishing members from non-members; (3) whose group identity is recognized by non-members; (4) who have differentiated roles in the group as a function of expectations from themselves, other group members, and non-group members; and (5) who, as group members acting alone or in concert, have significantly interdependent relations with other groups (Alderfer, 1977, p. 230).

Our concept of group takes account of individual, interpersonal, and intergroup levels of analysis. According to this view, any phenomenon pertaining to a person is multiply-determined by the internal dynamics of the person, the interpersonal dynamics of her or his group, and the intergroup dynamics of other groups in interaction with her or his group. In turn, the intergroup relations among the interdependent elements of complex multi-group systems are a function of the internal dynamics of individuals, the interpersonal dynamics of their groups, and the relations among the groups as wholes.

Propositions about Intergroup Dynamics in Organizations. To understand group behavior in organizations it is useful to distinguish between identity groups and organization groups. Members of identity groups share common biological characteristics, participate in equivalent historical experiences, and as a result tend to develop similar world views. The most commonly recognized identity groups are those based on race or ethnicity, sex, age, and family. Members of organizational groups are assigned similar primary tasks, participate in comparable work experiences, and as a result, tend to develop common organizational views. The most commonly recognized organization groups are those based on task or function and on hierarchy. From this perspective organization structure can be viewed as the reification of the intergroup problems created by the principles of hierarchy of authority and division of labor (Astrachan and Flynn, 1976). People carry identity group memberships and their consequences from organization to organization, while their organization group memberships depend on individuals' relationships to particular organizations.

Every person is simultaneously a member of all her or his identity and organization groups. However, the group he or she represents at a given moment depends on the intergroup context in which events occur. The intergroup context is determined by other individuals who are present representing other groups, and by the state of group boundaries, power differences, affective patterns, cognitive formations, and leadership behavior of one's own and other groups.

Group boundaries, which have both physical and psychological indicators, determine who is a group member and regulate transactions among groups by variations in their permeability (Alderfer, 1976). Permeable boundaries imply relative ease of entry and exit by members and of exchange of energy, matter, and information among groups, while impermeable boundaries dictate the converse.

Power differences among groups determine the quality and quantity of resources groups can use in their relations with one another (Lasswell and Kaplan, 1950). The variety of dimensions on which there are power differences and the degree of discrepancy among groups on these dimensions influence the relative boundary permeability of group boundaries in relation to each other and shape the affective patterns among groups (Brown, 1978).

Affective patterns among groups refer to the degree of ethnocentrism or polarization of feeling among groups (Sumner, 1906; Coser, 1956; Levine and Campbell, 1972). Groups engaged in conflict over power differences tend to develop more impermeable boundaries and more polarized affective patterns.

Cognitive formations - including elements of language, judgments about "objective" and "subjective" conditions, and propositions that make up world and organizational views - arise from internal and external transactions among group members (Sherif and Sherif, 1969; Blake, Shepard, and Mouton, 1964; Tajfel, 1971; Billig, 1976).

The behavior of leaders and other group representatives reflects the boundary permeability, power differences, affective patterns, and cognitive formations of their group in relation to other groups. Leadership and representational roles are both cause and effect in the total pattern of intergroup relations.

INTERGROUP THEORY AND RESEARCH METHODS

As stated here intergroup theory has implications both for what should be studied to understand black and white perceptions of racial dynamics in management and for how researchers should behave to obtain that knowledge.

The question of black and white perceptions of racial dynamics in management deals with the element of cognitive formations in intergroup theory. Three elements of cognitive formations are significant: elements of language, estimates of objective or subjective conditions, and explanations (which may be variously termed "theories" or "ideologies," depending on their susceptibility to disconfirmation). To understand the cognitive formations that shape and, in turn, are shaped by a particular intergroup relationship, data about each of the three elements should be obtained or derived from analysis. For this particular research information from black and white managers on their ways of understanding system dynamics was required.

An empathic questionnaire takes statements by members of an organization, eliminates personally identifying material, edits the content to state clearly one thought per item, and presents the items to members of the organization for them to express varying degrees of agreement or disagreement (Alderfer and Brown, 1972). The methodology of an empathic questionnaire need not necessarily be tied to intergroup theory, but, on the other hand, it does fit very well with both the substance and process of doing research on intergroup relations in organizations (Alderfer and Smith, 1980). When used in combination with intergroup behavioral methods, the empathic questionnaire provides a potent way to study the cognitive formations of different groups (Alderfer, Brown, Kaplan, and Smith, 1980).

A research transaction can itself be viewed as an intergroup event during which researchers representing their identity and organization groups interact with respondents representing their identity and organization groups. From an intergroup perspective, researchers using standardized questionnaires engage in ethnocentric acts. They take instruments developed in their identity and organization group cultures and impose them on people who may belong to different identity groups and who, many more times than not, do belong to different organization groups. The effect of these actions by researchers limits the scope of knowledge available to that which can be transferred across existing group boundaries and unwittingly confounds data about particular phenomena with the consequences of existing relationships between the groups represented by researchers and respondents. The effect of developing a new instrument for each organization places more emphasis on replicating the full process of how researchers relate to systems and collect data than on perfecting an instrument for use across organizations.

Race Relations in Organizations. In the field of race relations there is a substantial body of literature indicating that the nature of the data obtained is influenced by the races of the researcher and respondent (Hyman et al., 1954; Schuman and Hatchett, 1974). Some of the best known and most influential work on race dynamics included both black and white investigators (Myrdal, 1944; Stouffer et al., 1949). And more recently, analyses of the politics and philosophy of social science have focused inquiry on both the quality of knowledge and on the meaning of inferences drawn, depending on the race of the investigator (Merton, 1972; Clark, 1973).

The present research was conducted by a four person black and white, male and female research team assisted by a similar twelve person microcosm group of organization members of similar race and sex composition from the XYZ Corporation, a large industrial enterprise. The microcosm group included people of both races and sexes who represented four different hierarchical levels and all major departments in the organization. Items for the empathic questionnaire were developed from race and sex alike interviews between research team members and organization members and through group discussions that sometimes included members of the same race and sex group and other times involved the entire heterogeneous microcosm group.[1]

In final form, the empathic questionnaire consisted of 160 items. Ninety percent of these items were empathic, and the others were standard job and organization satisfaction questions of the sort frequently used in

[1]A detailed report of the procedures used in developing the empathic questionnaire may be found in Alderfer, Alderfer, Tucker, and Tucker (1980).

organizational behavior research. As it turned out the empathic items were of three different origins: from blacks only, from whites only, and from both blacks and whites. The sequence of items in the final form of the questionnaire administered to organization members alternated the three types of items. There were approximately the same number of black and white items, about 70 each. Statements from both groups made up about fifteen percent of the total.

ANALYTIC PROCEDURES

Sample

Black and white subsamples were formed from the sample of 676 managers at XYZ Company who had completed the empathic Race Relations Questionnaire. Within the total sample, white males greatly outnumbered the other three race-sex groups, and there were a few more black females than black males. After exluding managers who had failed to respond to large numbers of questionnaire items, white males and black females were randomly dropped until sex balance across the two race subsamples was approximately achieved. This was done in order to avoid confounding sex and race differences in subsequent analyses. The final subsamples consisted of 220 white managers (109 males, 111 females) and 117 black managers (58 males, 59 females), for a total N of 337.

Subscales

Twenty-two subscales were formed from linear combinations of questionnaire items (see Table 1). For each respondent a missing value on an item was replaced by the mean value of that respondent's race-sex group. Table 1 contains a complete listing of the items and subscales used in this research.

Table 1a. - Subscale 1: General racism

Item	Scored	
1	-	Race relations within XYZ are good.
2	+	Racism pervades XYZ.
3	+	Most White managers at XYZ are biased against Blacks.
4	+	Whites feel intellectually superior to Blacks at XYZ.
5	+	I have to deal with racial bigotry at XYZ.
6	+	XYZ is particularly biased against Blacks.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs.	I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	I.5	I.6
Subscale		1						
Item	1	.70	1					
	2	.81	.58	1		r = 0.84		
	3	.82	.49	.57	1			
	4	.72	.31	.43	.59	1		
	5	.66	.41	.49	.41	.39	1	
	6	.76	.42	.54	.56	.42	.41	1

Table 1b. - Subscale 2: Specific racism

Item	Scored	
1	+	Blacks do not get the resolution they deserve.
2	+	Black managers are often given assignments with the expectation that they will fail.
3	+	Whites set up situations that justify stereotypes of Blacks.
4	+	If a Black fails at a job, all Blacks suffer in the eyes of management.
5	-	White managers share vital growth and career related information with Black managers.
6	+	Whites cannot deal with competent Blacks.
7	+	Whites cannot deal with college-educated Blacks.

Subscales-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 2	I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	I.5	I.6	I.7
Subscale	2	1							
Item	1	.80	1						
	2	.83	.61	1					
	3	.85	.60	.67	1				
	4	.71	.46	.53	.57	1			
	5	.67	.50	.49	.50	.53	1		
	6	.88	.65	.66	.71	.50	.53	1	
	7	.87	.61	.67	.71	.48	.53	.86	1

r = 0.91

AD-A097 944 CZA INC WASHINGTON DC F/G 5/10
PAPERS FROM A SEMINAR ON HETEOGENEITY IN THE WORKPLACE AND PROD--ETC(U)
APR 81 C ALDERFER, C H CHERTOS, M A CHESLER N00014-80-C-0625
UNCLASSIFIED TR-1 NL

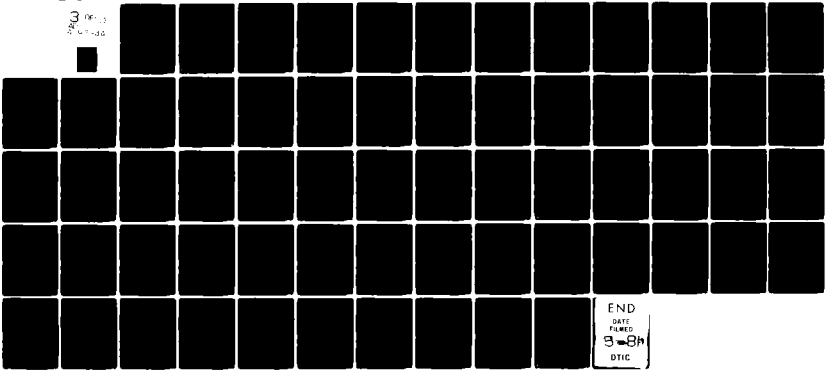


Table 1c. - Subscale 3: Management Unsupportive

Item	Scored	
1	-	Blacks are well accepted in XYZ management.
2	+	XYZ officers do little to protect the legal rights of Black managers.
3	+	XYZ officers do little to advance the cause of Black managers.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 3	I.1	I.2	I.3
Subscale	3	1			
					r = 0.76
Item	1	.72	1		
	2	.85	.35	1	
	3	.90	.45	.73	1

Table 1d. - Subscale 4: Foreman's Club is White, Racist

Item	Scored	
1	+	The FC is essentially a white organization.
2	+	The FC is essentially a racist organization.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 4	I.1	I.2
Subscale	4	1		r = 0.50
Item	1	.81	1	
	2	.82	.33	1

Table 1e. - Subscale 5: Promotion Discrimination

Item	Scored	
1	+	Blacks have to work harder than Whites to prove themselves.
2	+	Blacks are almost never evaluated fairly by White supervisors.
3	+	One of the major uses of PAC is to disqualify Blacks for management positions.
4	+	The XYZ target system for Blacks limits the advancement of Blacks.
5	+	The way manpower committees are set up within XYZ it is almost impossible for Blacks to reach upper management levels.
6	-	Despite racial discrimination, competent Blacks will be promoted at XYZ.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 5	I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	I.5	I.6
Subscale	5	1						
Item	1	.81	1					
	2	.78	.56	1				
	3	.75	.49	.54	1			
	4	.81	.59	.51	.51	1		
	5	.88	.66	.67	.58	.67	1	
	6	.70	.44	.45	.47	.53	.56	1

r = 0.88

Table 1f. - Subscale 6: White Promotion Advantage

Item	Scored	
1	+	Whites are given greater promotion advantages than Blacks.
2	+	Manpower committees view White males as a proven commodity.
3	+	Whites get better training than Blacks for assignments.
4	+	Qualified Whites are promoted more rapidly than equally qualified Blacks.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 6	I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4
Subscale	6	1				
Item	1	.91	1		r = 0.88	
	2	.79	.64	1		
	3	.82	.66	.46	1	
	4	.91	.79	.61	.71	1

Table 1g. - Subscale 7: White Self-protection

Item	Scored	
1	+	Whites stick together to protect incompetent White managers.
2	-	Whites do not protect imcompetent White managers.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 7	I.1	I.2
Subscale	7	1		
Item	1	.95	1	r = 0.87
	2	.94	.77	1

Table 1h. - Subscale 8: Blacks Easily Fired

Item	Scored	
1	+	The union is less likely to intervene to support Blacks who are fired.
2	+	It is easier to fire a Black manager than a White manager.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 8	I.1	I.2
Subscale	8	1		r = 0.62
Item	1	.86	1	
	2	.85	.45	1

Table 1i. - Subscale 9: Affirmative Action Bad

Item	Scored	
1	-	Affirmative Action programs are helpful.
2	+	Reverse discrimination demoralizes XYZ management.
3	-	Affirmative Action programs are fair.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 9	I.1	I.2	I.3
Subscale 9		1			
Item	1	.78	1	r = 0.66	
	2	.72	.30	1	
	3	.81	.56	.32	1

Table 1j. - Subscale 10: Blacks are Intrusive

Item	Scored	
1	+	Blacks should be grateful they have jobs in XYZ and should stop complaining.
2	+	Black managers are too "pushy".
3	+	Black people at XYZ feel the White world owes them a living.
4	+	Blacks expect too much.
5	+	Black people should conform more and try to fit into the XYZ image.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 10	I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4	I.5
Subscale 10		1					
Item	1	.78	1		r = 0.82		
	2	.72	.48	1			
	3	.80	.50	.48	1		
	4	.84	.58	.52	.63	1	
	5	.68	.42	.34	.38	.43	1

Table 1k. - Subscale 11: Company Overzealous

Item	Scored	
1	-	XYZ has not done enough on Black-White issues.
2	+	XYZ has already done too much on Black-White issues.
3	+	XYZ bends over too far to help Blacks who aren't willing to help themselves.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 11	I.1	I.2	I.3
Subscale 11		1			
Item	1	.74	1	r = 0.70	
	2	.82	.37	1	
	3	.82	.32	.64	1

Table 11. - Subscale 12: Black Hiring Advantage

Item	Scored	
1	+	XYZ would prefer to hire a Black into management rather than a White.
2	-	Black managers are hired on the basis of competence.
3	+	Unqualified Blacks are hired just to fill racial quotas.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 12	I.1	I.2	I.3
Subscale 12		1			
Item	1	.76	1		r = 0.68
	2	.78	.38	1	
	3	.80	.34	.53	1

Table 1m. - Subscale 13: Black Promotion Advantage

Item	Scored	
1	+	Most Blacks are promoted just because they are Black -- not because they are qualified.
2	+	Qualified Blacks are promoted more rapidly than equally qualified whites.
3	+	Blacks get promoted even if they are doing a mediocre job.
4	+	Blacks are given greater promotional opportunities than Whites.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 13	I.1	I.2	I.3	I.4
Subscale 13		1				
Item	1	.77	1		r = 0.87	
	2	.88	.50	1		
	3	.88	.66	.67	1	
	4	.88	.51	.73	.68	1

Table 1n. - Subscale 14: Affirmative Action Hurts White Promotion

Item	Scored	
1	+	White males are unjustly penalized by Affirmative Action programs.
2	-	Despite EEO targets for Blacks, competent Whites will be promoted at XYZ.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 14	I.1	I.2
Subscale 14		1		r = 0.56
Item	1	.89	1	
	2	.77	.39	1

Table 1o. - Subscale 15: Black Self-protection

Item	Scored	
1	+	Blacks stick together to protect incompetent Black managers.
2	-	Blacks do not protect incompetent Black managers.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 15	I.1	I.2
Subscale 15		1		
Item	1	.92	1	r = 0.82
	2	.92	.70	1

Table 1p. - Subscale 16: BMA is Racist

Item	Scored	
1	+	In terms of member attitudes, BMA is essentially a racist organization.
2	+	BMA is a cause of racial tension.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlation

		Subs. 16	I.1	I.2
Subscale 16		1		r = 0.74
Item	1	.91	1	
	2	.88	.59	1

Table 1q. - Subscale 17: BMA Informs Blacks

Item	Scored	
1	+	BMA helps Blacks learn how XYZ's promotion system works.
2	+	BMA helps Blacks learn how the XYZ organization operates.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

	Subs. 17	I.1	I.2
Subscale 17	1		r = 0.76
Item 1	.91	1	
2	.88	.61	1

Table 1r. - Subscale 18: BMA is Good for the Company

Item	Scored	
1	+	BMA works with top management to solve racial problems at XYZ.
2	+	BMA works with top management to solve company problems.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 18	I.1	I.2
Subscale 18		1		
Item	1	.85	1	r = 0.65
	2	.87	.48	1

Table 1s. - Subscale 19: BMA Supports Blacks

Item	Scored	
1	+	Because of BMA's activities, Blacks feel less isolated within XYZ.
2	+	BMA is an effective support system for Black managers.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 19	I.1	I.2
Subscale 19		1		r = 0.56
Item	1	.84	1	
	2	.83	.39	1

Table 1t. - Subscale 20: General Satisfaction

Item	Scored	
1	+	I feel that things are basically going well for me in my life in general (both inside and outside XYZ).
2	-	Right now I feel that things are going poorly for me in my life in general (both inside and outside XYZ).

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 20	I.1	I.2
Subscale 20		1		
Item	1	.94	1	r = 0.85
	2	.92	.74	1

Table 1u. - Subscale 21: Job Satisfaction

Item	Scored	
1	+	Right now I am satisfied with the work I am doing at XYZ.
2	-	I am unhappy about the work I am doing at XYZ.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 21	I.1	I.2
Subscale 21		1		r = 0.73
Item	1	.90	1	
	2	.87	.58	1

Table 1v. - Subscale 22: Company Pride

Item	Scored	
1	+	I am proud to tell people that I work for XYZ.
2	-	I am ashamed to tell people that I work for XYZ.

Subscale-item and Inter-item Correlations

		Subs. 22	I.1	I.2
Subscale 22		1		r = 0.59
Item	1	.81	1	
	2	.87	.42	1

The construction of subscales proceeded under several constraints. First, we wanted subscales that would capture major dimensions underlying the six main item content areas on the Race Relations Questionnaire (General Race Relations, Management Groups, Hiring, Advancement, Firing, and Personal Opinions) as they had emerged from the work of the microcosm group. We expected at least three, but probably four or more common factors. These factors, in turn, could be used to explore similarities and differences between the race group in terms of their perceptions of the organization. Second, each factor needed to be identified by a minimum of three subscales[2] and each subscale had to be composed of a minimum of two items.[3]

Working within these constraints and using earlier exploratory factor analyses of items, a set of subscales was constructed from which we anticipated that six factors might emerge: general racism; organization based systemic racism; attitudes towards hiring, advancement, and firing; attitudes toward the Black Managers Association (BMA) and the Foreman's Club (FC); and general satisfaction. An initial principal axis factoring indicated that there were not enough FC subscales to extract an FC factor, reflecting the fewer items directed towards FC than towards BMA in the questionnaire. Thus, two FC subscales were dropped from subsequent analyses.

---

[2]Factors identified by fewer than three subscales tend to be unstable.

[3]We originally attempted the factor analysis on items within each content area. This proved unworkable given the violations of multivariate normality inherent in the item distributions. Multivariate normality of the data is an assumption underlying the factor analytic procedures used here. Linear combinations of items have partially resolved this problem.

In addition, contrary to our expectations, there emerged two somewhat different factors centering on black-white relations rather than the first three factors mentioned above.

Analysis

A simultaneous factor analysis in several populations (SIFASP), following the steps outlined by McGaw and Joreskog (1971) was performed. Briefly, the intent of the analysis is to fit a factor model to the data of the two groups where the groups share a common factor loading matrix but their factor dispersion (i.e., variance-covariance) matrices are allowed to vary provided that there is a satisfactory fit, differences between groups are explained by differences in the respective factor dispersion matrices. Chi-square index of the goodness to fit for the factor model provides evidence regarding the satisfactoriness of the model.

Dispersion matrices of the subscales were computed for the two race groups. In factor analysis these matrices are usually rescaled to correlation matrices. In this study, though, such rescaling would remove important differences that might exist between the two groups. A rescaling that keeps subscales in a common metric is permissable however, and McGaw and Joreskog (1971) one in which a weighted average of the rescaled dispersion matrices is a correlation matrix. Consequently, a pooled dispersion matrix S was calculated as

$$\underset{\sim}{S} = \sum_{g=1}^{2} (N - 1)_{-g} \underset{\sim}{S}_{g} / \sum_{g=1}^{2} (N - 1)_{-g},$$

where S_g is the subscale covariance for group g , and N_g is the number of individuals in group g.

A pooled correlation matrix R was calculated from S as:

$$\underset{\sim}{R} = \underset{\sim\sim}{DSD}, \text{ where } \underset{\sim}{D} = (\text{Diag } \underset{\sim}{S})^{-\frac{1}{2}}$$

Finally, the original dispersion matrices $S_g (g = 1, 2)$ were rescaled to $\underset{\sim}{S}_g^*$ where:

$$\underset{\sim}{S}_g^* = \underset{\sim\sim}{DS}_g\underset{\sim}{D}$$

Box's (1949) test of the equality of the two population dispersion matrices, from which S_1 and S_2 were sampled, revealed significant differences ($F_{(\infty,\infty)} = 1.8$, $p < .001$). Had the population dispersion matrices not been significantly different, there would have been no reason to factor analyze the two groups separately.

Preliminary factor analysis. An unrestricted maximum likelihood factor analysis (MLFA), using the computer program LISREL (Joreskog and Sorbom, 1976) was performed on the pooled correlation matrix $\underset{\sim}{R}$, successively extracting zero through four common factors because an exploratory principal axis analysis had indicated the appropriateness of a four factor solution. That solution was used to provide starting values for the unrestricted MLFA. To identify parameters, the factor dispersion matrix was constrained to be an identity matrix.

An advantage in using MLFA is its capacity to provide x^2 test of the goodness of fit of the factor model. However, since this x^2 is sensitive to minor departures from the model in large samples, McGaw and Joreskog (1971) recommend use of a reliability index, ρ, developed by Tucker and Lewis (1971), which may be estimated as:

$$\hat{\rho} = \frac{M_o - M_k}{M_o - 1},$$

where

$$M_o = x_o^2 / df_o \quad \text{and} \quad M_k = x_o^2 / df_k ,$$

the

x^2's and df's

being those obtained with zero and k common factors. When x^2 is equal to its expected value this index is unity. Table 2 contains the reliability indices for the zero through four factors. It is evident that four factors provide a good fit to the data, and additional factors do little to improve the fit.

Table 2 - Goodness of Fit of Various Unrestricted Factor Models to Combined Groups Data

No. of Common Factors	x^2	D.F.	$\hat{\rho}$
0	2678	231	-----
1	1511	209	0.412
2	786	188	0.700
3	490	168	0.819
4	393	149	0.845

Table 3 contains the factor loading matrix and the unique variances associated with the unrestricted MLFA on the pooled correlation matrix. The interpretation of the four factors is clear. Factor 1 (Whites and White Systems Hurt Blacks) has subscales loading on it that assess perceived negative affect and behavior towards blacks, including policies and behavior towards blacks that have the effect of hindering black advancement in the compnay. Factor 2 (Blacks and Black Systems Hurt Whites) has subscales loading on it that assess perceptions of company

policies or behavior perceived as supportive of blacks, at the expense of whites. Factor 3 (BMA is good) has three subscales loading on it. Here subscales measure perceived benefits arising from the existence and activity of BMA, in its being informative, supportive, and good for the company overall. Factor 4 (Satisfaction) reflects three subscales touching on various aspects of an individual's satisfaction inside and outside the company.

Table 3 - Unrestricted Orthogonal Solution for Pooled Correlation Matrix

	Common Factors				
Subscale	I	II	III	IV	Unique Variance
General Racism	0.770	-0.110	0.010	-0.142	0.374
Specific Racism	0.752	-0.307	0.010	-0.099	0.331
Managment Unsupportive	0.649	-0.256	-0.118	-0.210	0.456
FC is White, Racist	0.330	-0.105	0.092	-0.150	0.849
Promo. Discrimination	0.650	-0.337	-0.099	-0.170	0.425
White Promo. Advantage	0.680	-0.294	0.014	-0.159	0.426
White Self-protection	0.483	-0.165	0.059	-0.084	0.729
Blacks Easily Fired	0.417	-0.273	-0.127	-0.150	0.713
AA Bad in General	0.218	0.394	-0.168	0.159	0.744
Blacks are Instrusive	0.225	0.578	0.061	0.324	0.506
Company Overzealous	-0.145	0.611	-0.037	0.282	0.525
Black Hiring Advantage	0.206	0.671	-0.037	0.155	0.481
Black Promo. Advantage	0.103	0.772	0.052	0.275	0.315
AA Hurts White Promo.	0.140	0.532	-0.034	0.231	0.642
Black Self-protection	0.123	0.410	0.185	0.018	0.783

Table 3 (con't)

Subscale	Common Factors I	II	III	IV	Unique Variance
BMA is Racist	0.171	0.363	-0.137	0.173	0.790
BMA Informs Blacks	0.009	0.038	0.697	-0.106	0.501
BMA Good for Company	-0.048	0.058	0.687	0.002	0.522
BMA Supports Blacks	-0.023	-0.019	0.739	-0.001	0.454
General Satisfaction	-0.204	-0.123	-0.023	0.614	0.565
Job Satisfaction	-0.266	-0.235	0.105	0.554	0.556
Company Pride	-0.318	-0.120	0.184	0.334	0.739

Simultaneous factor analysis in the two populations. As in the unrestricted MLFA, good initial estimates of model parameters are desirable to ensure rapid convergence of the maximum likelihood estimates. In a SIFASP analysis, the factor loading matrix common to the two groups and the separate factor dispersion and unique variance matrices associated with each group are estimated. The factor loading matrix from unrestricted MLFA presented in Table 3 was used to provide the starting values for the factor loading matrix in SIFASP. Initial estimates of the factor dispersion and unique variance matrices for the two groups were obtained by performing restricted MLFA separately for each of the two S^*_g matrices, with the factor loading matrices entirely fixed with the values from the unrestricted MLFA solution, and with the factor dispersion and unique variance matrices entirely free. The results from these analyses were then used as the starting values for the SIFASP. The unrestricted SIFASP was performed with four elements fixed in each column of the common factor loading matrix (one high loading and three low loadings in each column) to identify the solu-

tion. Other elements in the factor loading matrix and all elements in the factor dispersion and unique variance matrices were left free. By not fixing the factor dispersion matrix, the factors could move to oblique orientations separately for each group.

RESULTS

Table 4 contains the final factor loading matrix common to the two groups, and separate factor dispersion and unique variance matrices for each group obtained from SIFASP. The x^2 measure of goodness to fit is 709.9 with 370 degrees of freedom. The Tucker-Lewis (1971) reliability index is 0.83, computed by a slightly modified procedure for SIFASP models suggested by McGaw and Joreskog (1971, p. 163). The Box test of the equality of the populaiton factor dispersion matrices found a significant difference ($F_{(10,\infty)} = 16.22$, $p < .001$).

Table 4a. - Simultaneous Solution for Two Populations

	Common Factors				Unique Variances	
Subscale	I	II	III	IV	Whites	Blacks
General Racism	0.770	-0.127	0.006	-0.154	0.369	0.385
Specific Racism	0.732	-0.345	0.010	-0.099	0.275	0.462
Management Unsupportive	0.673	-0.299	-0.096	-0.299	0.339	0.695
FC is White, Racist	0.292	-0.100	0.084	-0.136	0.976	0.634
Promo. Discrimination	0.656	-0.356	-0.085	-0.181	0.432	0.392
White Promo. Advantage	0.683	-0.315	0.017	-0.158	0.454	0.344
White Self-protection	0.488	-0.174	0.062	-0.080	0.650	0.866
Blacks Easily Fired	0.415	-0.306	-0.137	-0.144	0.471	1.167*

Table 4a. (con't)

Subscale	Common Factors I	II	III	IV	Unique Variances Whites	Blacks
AA Bad in General	0.233	0.384	-0.181	0.141	0.719	0.772
Blacks are Intrusive	0.228	0.568	0.015	0.309	0.593	0.316
Company Overzealous	-0.116	0.610	-0.046	0.256	0.578	0.418
Black Hiring Advantage	0.209	0.678	-0.058	0.107	0.465	0.509
Black Promo. Advantage	0.100	0.770	0.023	0.231	0.342	0.302
AA Hurts White Promo.	0.141	0.526	-0.030	0.210	0.689	0.561
Black Self-protection	0.105	0.416	0.156	0.020	0.849	0.672
BMA is Racist	0.172	0.341	-0.146	0.139	0.698	0.990
BMA Informs Blacks	0.010	0.025	0.690	-0.068	0.477	0.628
BMA Good for Company	-0.053	0.060	0.705	0.000	0.465	0.538
BMA Supports Blacks	-0.015	-0.021	0.740	0.022	0.472	0.426
General Satisfaction	-0.200	-0.151	-0.020	0.610	0.549	0.723
Job Satisfaction	-0.244	-0.306	0.114	0.644	0.436	0.599
Company Pride	-0.311	-0.120	0.187	0.329	0.720	0.844

Table 4b. - Estimated Factor Dispersion Matrices

Blacks

	I	II	III	IV	
I	1.106				Whites and White Systems Hurt Blacks
II	-0.321	0.325			Blacks and Black Systems Hurt Whites
III	-0.046	0.063	1.627		BMA is Good.
IV	-0.229	0.071	-0.014	0.702	Satisfaction

Whites

	I	II	III	IV	
I	0.935				Whites and White Systems Hurt Blacks.
II	0.224	1.282			Blacks and Black Systems Hurt Whites.
III	0.032	0.019	0.660		BMA is Good
IV	0.120	0.149	-0.021	1.074	Satisfaction

Table 5 contains the factor correlation matrices (obtained by re-scaling the covariance matrices), which facilitate comparisons and interpretations. Differences in the pattern of correlations for the black and white groups generally center around the relationship of Factor 1 to the other factors. For blacks, these relations are negative in all instances, and for whites they are positive in all comparisons. Thus the more blacks see whites and white systems hurting blacks, the less they see blacks and black systems hurting whites and the less overall satisfaction they report. The more whites see white and white systems hurting blacks, the more they see blacks and black systems hurting whites and the more overall satisfaction they report.

Table 5 - Intercorrelations of Factors for the Two Race Groups

Blacks

	I	II	III	IV	
I	1				Whites and White Systems Hurt Blacks
II	-0.54	1			Blacks and Black Systems Hurt White
III	-0.03	0.09	1		BMA is Good
IV	-0.26	0.15	-0.01	1	Satisfaction

Whites

	I	II	III	IV	
I	1				Whites and White Systems Hurt Blacks
II	0.21	1			Blacks and Black Systems Hurt Whites
III	0.04	0.02	1		BMA is Good
IV	0.12	0.13	-0.03	1	Satisfaction

Mean factor scores. Following a procedure outlined by McGaw and Joreskog (1971, p. 164), mean factor scores for population g may be estimated as:

$$\hat{\underset{\sim}{v}}_g = \underset{\sim}{\Phi}_g \hat{\underset{\sim}{\Lambda}}' \underset{\sim}{\Sigma}_g^{-1} (\bar{\underset{\sim}{x}}_g - \bar{\underset{=}{x}}) ,$$

where $\underset{\sim}{\Phi}_g$ is the estimated factor dispersion matrix for population g, $\hat{\underset{\sim}{\Lambda}}$ is the estimated factor loading matrix, $\hat{\underset{\sim}{\Sigma}}_g = \hat{\underset{\sim}{\Lambda}} \underset{\sim}{\Phi}_g \hat{\underset{\sim}{\Lambda}}' + \hat{\underset{\sim}{\Psi}}^2_g$, $\underset{\sim}{\Psi}^2_g$ is the matrix of estimated unique variances for population g, $\bar{\underset{\sim}{x}}_g$ is the vector of mean subscale scores for population g, and $\bar{\underset{=}{x}}$ is the vector of mean subscale scores for both populations combined. Table 6 contains the mean factor scores for the two groups and Z tests of the significance of the difference between pairs of factor means. All differences between the two groups are highly significant. Blacks see more harm by whites and white systems, less harm by blacks and black systems, better effects of the Black Management Association, and less overall satisfaction than whites.

Table 6 - Estimated Factor Means and Z Score

Population	I Whites and White Systems Hurt Blacks	II Blacks and Black Systems Hurt Whites	III BMA is Good	IV Satisfaction
1 White Managers	-2.62	2.57	-0.21	0.58
2 Black Managers	5.50	-3.93	0.20	-1.90
Z Score	-69.4	70.1	-3.15	23.8
P	.001	.001	.001	.001

DISCUSSION

Data from this study bear directly on the three elements of the cognitive formations arising from the intergroup relationship between black and white managers in the XYZ Corporation. The content of the items themselves, having been developed by empathic and intergroup dynamic methods, take account of the language systems of the two groups. Mean differences on the factor scores provide point estimates of psychological realities of the two groups. Finally, the factor loadings and the patterns of correlations between factors for the two racial groups offer insights into the kinds of meaning the two racial groups make of their relationships.

Content of the empathic items and subscales contrasts with standard job satisfaction measures, which, of course, were not originally designed to deal with racial issues. Our results strongly suggest that efforts to study racial dynamics in organizations cannot rely on instruments designed for other purposes. Issues covered by the empathic items identify a wide range of happenings in the organization where phenomena associated with race dynamics may be observed. Typical job attitude measures tend not to show the depth or subtlety of understanding available through empathically developed multi-racial teams. Furthermore, the internal consistency and conceptual clarity of the empathic scales should provide some reassurance to those who doubt whether meaningful measures can be developed by intergroup empathic procedures.

From the factor mean difference it it clear that blacks and whites have very different perceptions of the state of race relations in the XYZ Corporation. The pattern of the first three mean differences follows an

ethnocentric formation quite closely. Blacks see whites and white systems less favorably than they see blacks and black systems; the converse applies to whites viewing blacks. The overall satisfaction differences between the races probably reflect a combination of at least two processes. First, whites generally have higher ranking positions in the corporation than blacks, and overall satisfaction is positively related to hierarchical level. Second, the perception that whites and white systems hurt black is inversely related to satisfaction for blacks, and blacks generally see more damage to blacks from whites and white systems than whites do.

Insight into the meaning of race dynamics for the two racial groups is available through interpreting the different pattern of correlations between factor scores. In the minds of blacks, harm from whites and white systems is negatively related to the perception that blacks and black systems harm whites, while just the reverse is true for whites. Thus the perception of white racism by blacks is not followed by a perception that blacks and black systems in turn hurt whites. This particular understanding would permit blacks to pursue their legitimate racially based interests in the corporation without feeling they are hurting whites in the process, and it would mean that blacks who thought that blacks and black systems were hurting whites also felt that blacks did not have legitimate racially based interests to pursue in the corporation. But for whites the perception of white racism in the corporation is associated with the view that blacks and black systems hurt whites. This particular understanding would mean that whites who perceived that white racism was hurting blacks also perceived that blacks and black systems were hurting whites, and it would

mean that whites who did not see white racism also did not see blacks and black institutions hurting whites.

This pattern of cognitive and emotional splitting that make up the respective understandings of racial dynamics was different for blacks and whites. The major source of denial for blacks was that their actions to overcome racism would be damaging to whites, while the major source of denial for whites was the very existence of racial tensions and the efforts to change an inequitable situation. For blacks, denial of harm to whites by their efforts to effect change allows them to accept the perception of racism in the system; acceptance of the view that black systems will hurt whites requires that they deny the effects of white racism. For whites, acceptance of the perception of white racism brings with it the view that black efforts to change the system will hurt whites; denial of white racism brings freedom from the view that blacks and black systems will hurt whites.

From the perspective of a black who perceives white racism, changes to eliminate the racism are aimed at altering the long-standing undeserved advantage whites have over blacks, and from that point of view, do not hurt whites because they are not taking anything from whites that legitimately belonged to whites. From the perspective of a white who perceives white racism changes to eliminate the racism are aimed at altering the balance of resource allocation within the system, and that inevitably means that whites are now sharing what they formerly possessed exclusively and the experience of loss will be encountered.

The relation between perceived white racism and feeling satisfied further adds to the different cognitive formations. Here we insert causal speculation about the meaning of the differences in the correla-

tions. Blacks who perceive more white racism are also less satisfied, we suggest, because of the effect of that racism on their work and life experiences. Whites, on the other hand, who are more satisfied perceive more white racism, because they have sufficient security in their work and personal lives to allow themselves to accept the rather harsh realities of what the effects of white dominance have meant for blacks in this predominantly white organization.

In sum, the full analysis of cognitive formations in this study indicates that perceptions of racial dynamics in management by the racial groups is more than simply derivable from overall satisfaction and more than basic ethnocentrism between two groups. It involves each of these phenomena and, in addition to them, evidence that the racial groups demonstrate fundamentally different cognitive mechanisms for dealing with the racial tensions that affect their managerial lives. It seems unlikely that these insights could have been achieved without a data collection method that explicitly used the theory of intergroup relations in organizations and statistical procedures that permitted the uncovering of the fundamentally different perceptions and ways of understanding race relations for black and white managers.

Implications for Productivity

The results show that blacks and whites use different language to describe racial dynamics in management, make different assessments of the state of race relations in management, and show different patterns of association among the concepts they use to understand racial dynamics. These findings suggest a variety of directions for action to improve the

effectiveness of heterogeneous work forces. Because this study was carried out in a predominantly white organization, the implications for action apply most appropriately to similar situations.

From the outset, the research was designed to identify and to respect the differences between black and white managers. Thus, there was a black and white research team, a black and white advisory group, and black and white authorship of all documents deriving from the study. In the context of a predominately white system, it is essential to build into the research process a means to be sure that black perspectives, when they differed from white views, were not drowned out by the larger numbers and greater formal influence of white people. The result of this attention to process and structure was a report whose validity was accepted by both black and white managers in the XYZ Corporation (Alderfer, Alderfer, Tucker, and Tucker, 1980).

In moving from the study results to a plan of action within the corporation, the same principles were followed. The strategic concept and the tactics for implementing it were developed through intensive interaction among black and white groups. There were elements to the action plan that included both the education of black and white individuals and the change of major components of the XYZ organization. Central to making the action plan effective was a goal statement, developed by a 20-person black and white group aided by consultants. The purpose of the statement was to define the nature of "managerial competence in race relations" and to develop the expectation that all XYZ managers would be evaluated in part on the basis of their demonstrated capacity to lead and to follow managers who were of a different race than their own.

Conceptually, the race competence document drew upon the study results both in how it was developed and in what it contained. The research findings indicated that conflict between the races was demotivating and demoralizing to both black and white managers. The race competence document addressed issues that were relevant to effective management, regardless of the race of supervisor and subordinate, and it also specified the special properties that pertained to blacks supervising whites, whites supervising blacks, blacks supervising blacks, and whites supervising whites. When it is accepted, the document changes the normative structure of the XYZ organization so that both black and white managers face working conditions they perceived as equitable. Our results suggest that this is possible only if the perspectives of both groups are fully worked into the culture of the employing organization.

REFERENCES

Alderfer, Clayton P. Change processes in organization. In M.D. Dunnette (ed.) Handbook of industrial and organizational psychology. Chicago: Rand-McNally, 1976, pp. 1591-1638.

Alderfer, Clayton P. Group and intergroup relations. In J.R. Hackman and J.L Suttle (eds.) Improving Life at Work, Santa Monica, Cla.: Goodyear, 1977, pp. 227-296.

Alderfer, Clayton P., Alderfer, Charleen, Tucker, Leota, and Tucker, Robert. Diagnosing race relations in management, Journal of applied behavioral science, 1980, 16, 135-166.

Alderfer, Clayton P. and Brown, L. Dave Designing an empathic questionnaire for organizational research. Journal of applied psychology, 1972, 56, 456-460.

Alderfer, Clayton P. and Brown, L. Dave Learning from changing. Beverly Hills, Calif.: Sage, 1975.

Alderfer, Clayton P., Brown, L. Dave, Kaplan, Robert I. and Smith, Ken K. Group Relations and Organizational Diagnosis, in preparation.

Alderfer, Clayton P. and Smith, Ken K. Studying intergroup relations embedded in organizations, under review.

Astrachan, Boris M. and Flynn, Hulda R. The intergroup exercise: a paradigm for learning about the development of organization structure. In E.J. Miller (ed.) Task and organization. London: Wiley, 1976.

Billig, M. Social psychology and intergroup relations. London: Academic Press, 1976.

Blake, Robert R. and Shepard, Herbert A. and Mouton, J. Managing conflict in industry. Houston: Gulf, 1964.

Box, G. E. A general distribution theory for a class of likelihood criteria. Biometrika, 1949, 36, 317-346.

Cartwright, D. and Zander, A. Group dynamics, 3rd edition. Evanston: Row-Peterson, 1968.

Clark, Cedric X. The role of the white researcher in black society: a futuristic look. Journal of social issues, 1973, 29, 109-118.

Coser, L.A. The functions of social conflict. Glencoe: Free Press, 1956.

Fernandez, J. P. Black managers in white corporations. New York: Wiley, 1975.

Homans, George The human group. New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, 1950.

Human, H., Cobb, W. J., Feldman, J. J., Hart, C.W. and Stember, C. H. Interviewing in Social Research. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954.

Joreskog, Karl G., and Sorbom, D. LISREL IV: Analysis of Linear Structural Relationships by the Method of Maximum Likelihood, User's Manual. Chicago: International Educational Services, 1976.

Kerner, D. and Lindsay, J. Report of the National Advisory Commission on Civil Disorders. New York: E.P. Dutton, 1968.

Lasswell, Harold and Kaplan, Abraham Power and society. New Haven: Yale University, 1950.

Levine, Robert A. and Campbell, Donald T. Ethnocentrism. New York: Wiley, 1972.

McGaw, Barry and Joreskog, Karl G. Factorial invariance of ability measures in groups differing in intelligence and socioeconomic status, British journal of mathematical and statistical psychology, 1971, 24, 154-168.

Merton, Robert K. Insiders and outsiders, American journal of sociology, 1972, 78, 9-47.

Miller, Eric J. and Rice, A. K. Systems of organization. London: Tavistock, 1967.

Myrdal, Gunnar An American dilemma: the Negro problem and modern democracy. New York: Harper, 1944.

Purcell, Thomas V. and Cavanagh, G. F. Blacks in the industrial world. New York: Free Press, 1972.

Rice, A.K. Individual, group, and intergroup processes, Human relations, 1969, 22, 565-584.

Schuman, H. and Hatchett, S. Black racial attitudes: trends and complexities. Ann Arbor: Survey Research Center, 1974.

Sherif, M. and Sherif, C. Social psychology. New York: Harper & Row, 1969.

Stouffer, S. A., Suchman, E. A., DeVinney, L. C., Star, S. A. and Williams, R. M., Jr. The American soldier. New York: Wiley, 1949.

Sumner, William Graham Folkways. New York: Ginn, 1976.

Tajfel, H. Experiments in intergroup discrimination, Scientific American, 1970, 223, 96-102.

Tucker, L. R. and Lewis, L. A reliability coefficient for maximum likelihood factor analysis. In Topics in Factor Analysis II. Technical Report, Office of Naval Research, 1971.

PANEL DISCUSSION

"What Should A Research Agenda For The Next Decade Contain?"

PANEL DISCUSSION

"What Should A Research Agenda For The Next Decade Contain?"

Richard Shapiro: As one of the people who was involved in trying to conceptualize this seminar, a perspective from where I sit as to what I hope the panelists would at some point speak to, is to come up with specific recommendations which NIMH and CNR would be able to utilize in attempting to support the programs that deal with eliminating institutional racism and increasing heterogeneity in the workforce. I would hope that the panelists would speak, at least in part, to that part of the agenda which addresses research issues that can be used as a part of the requests for proposals that can be built into the program goals and objectives in the Minority Center, and possibly in ONR. So with that in mind, what I'm going to do is take you as you are listed and start the discussion off arbitrarily since I'm a bureaucrat, I'm task-oriented, structure-oriented. I think we have to get through a big task. So I'll arbitrarily cut you off in five minutes if you go that long. You don't have to go that long. Then, we can go back and continue the dialogue after each panelist has spoken.

Dr. Triandis: It seems to me that it would be very useful for the report from this seminar to begin with some very clear definitions of what we're talking about. I have a feeling that we don't know what institutional racism is, what heterogeneity is, or what productivity is. We have been using the terms rather loosely in the last few days. I heard, for example,

performance in school referred to as productivity, and satisfaction referred to as productivity. There is very little evidence that the antecedents of these variables are not the same. I think it would lead to confusion if we assume that they are. So the first thing we have to do is to clarify what the concepts are and then examine the methods for measurement of these concepts.

Now, in terms of a general agenda for action, I think it might be useful to look at something like the kinds of attributes I have listed here and to examine the relationships among various types of attributes.

For example, attributes of culture which presumably have something to do with the nature of the culture; and the culture has something to do with the nature of the ecology and the economic system. Maybe one source of evidence, attributes of behavior, for example, where the behaviors are under happenstance control or intentional control may be another kind of variable.

Attributes of interpersonal systems such as for example to what extent there is friendship, or understanding, or hostility or subordination. In other words, one person is very foxy as opposed to another and what sorts of satisfaction emerge from that interpersonal system.

Attributes of jobs. For example, to what extent is the job pre-programmed by the environment? For example, when you have a conveyor that arranges production as opposed to it being decided by the person, there are many other attributes. For example, what is the nature of the task? Is the task such that if we have a group of people you have to wait for the last person to understand the point before you can move

to the next point? In other words everybody has to agree. Or is it a case where you have a single person solution and everyone else agrees? It's a very different kind of task, a very different set of results depending on the nature of the task.

Then we have attributes of organization. For example, are they horizontal, or are they perpendicular? Are they competitive or cooperative? What types of communication are there in the organization? Are suggestions coming from the bottom or is everything being decided at the top, and communication flows downward? What kinds of power relationships are there in the organization? What sorts of friendship patterns or structures of sociometrics occur in the organization? What are the roles of the values in the organization? You can start looking at any one of these attributes in relation to the others and you have very complicated interactions. For example, you can take a variable such as use of behavior and examine what that has as an implication for the design of jobs for the placement of particular kinds of people who enjoy particular kinds of activities within that particular job in that organization and that becomes an interaction in terms of how things go together. You can probably get various attributes of productivity and look at those in relation to how the people are interacting.

Dr. Thomas: I'm a historian and I'm very concerned about power relationships in a multi-racial industrial society; particularly the historical structures and formations that have developed over time. There is something else I think we need to look at in terms of research. As

an historian one of things that I've noticed being in an urban college made up of psychologists, sociologists, economists who have gotten all kinds of grants, is that very seldom have they looked at the extent to which the products of social research have indeed led to significant social change. What we have failed to understand is that the university is a social, economic and political formation that has arisen in modern industrial society, and, in many instances, has placed barriers in the paths of social change. This is the first time in the history of man that we've developed a community of scholars that has been used by the ruling elite in many instances, if not to keep change from occuring, to at least make sure changes occur in a certain fashion that is channeled in various kinds of ways. In many instances, we as researchers have developed an intellectual pattern or framework by which we monitor social change. So I'm very concerned that part of the research agenda looks at the history of university research as it has actually affected social change and to what extent it has altered power relations.

I think once we've discovered that, we're going to get into the politics of funding. We're going to get into some of the things that Clayton talked about. And that is that even after we come out with substantial research findings, if we do not have a mechansim by which to change power relationships, the research doesn't mean very much. Now one reason that we have to understand this is, and I'll just give you a little anecdote: I was teaching race relations in England in 1976 when the young Third World scholars and the liberal young white scholars were ticked off at the institute on racial issues. Do you know why? They

were ticked off primarily because there was a race relations industry in that country that was growing fat on the grants and the funding. People in the industry were not mean people, but they were not particularly interested in taking their research findings and really getting into social engineering. Now the reason why I think this is important is because in the 1930's there was a man by the name of Charles Houston, the great Harvard-educated lawyer, who was not only a great scholar in his own right but also a great social engineer, and he would take the findings of all the great scholars and put those findings into a set. We've reached a point in this society where we have developed an enormous amount of research which really does not correlate highly with substantive social change, and I think we need to do something. We need to have some research on how effective this research has been in effecting social change.

The other thing that we have to be concerned about is the politics of research fund allocation within the community of scholars. You're a young scholar and you have different ideas and different value judgements. You've got to break into the community of scholars. It's a network, and still very much controlled by white males. Most certainly, the people who get funding are the traditional social scientists with traditional ideas about social change. They are not necessarily better in the methodological sense, it's just that they are more acceptable because the people who fund them are more comfortable with their research. That really points to a lack of research heterogeneity in the academic workplace. There, you do not get people coming up with different ideas, different paradigms,

different approaches and different ideas about public policy. So I think we really need to look at that. We might want to start by reading Thomas Channer's book on Structure of Scientific Revolution to get an idea of what happens when a paradigm becomes dominant. I think we've reached a point of research fixation on traditional paradigms. We are comfortable with those paradigms, and we keep other people out who do not come dressed up in those traditional paradigms. I think that has kept us from bringing in a lot of non-traditional researchers. It has also kept us from growing.

Dr. Nishi: First, I'd like to suggest that a research agenda for the next decade has to expand its horizons. It is increasingly clear that what happens in domestic, race and other stratification component relationships in the United States, as well as what is happening in regard to actions concerning the economic order, very much hinges upon international power relationships and the role of the Third World Countries. So I'd like to suggest that domestic stratification systems by race and sex are going to be very much related to those trends in the world, and we have been extremely myopic in much that we do with regard to heterogeneity and productivity in the workforce in the United States. What is happening with regard to Third World Countries and the new economic order has a very important implication for the potential for productivity and the participation of all of us in the workforces in this society. It seems to me that we have been rather myopic. They well could revolutionize our need for labor and its distribution in the United States.

Depressions too as we are experiencing them have had a very real impact on what can and cannot be done with regard to increasing equity in heterogeneity within the United States. I would like us to be sure that we are concerned with the conditions of heterogeneity in the society, in the labor force and in the workplace. So we are talking about increasing heterogeneity within the context of a value, and that value is equity. Heterogeneity in itself, we have learned, is likely to subject us to extraordinary victimization, and this particularly so in the United States. The potential for great gradation, and therefore the use of the different strata for the exploitation of those below, and for the maintenance of inequity in power of those on top, becomes much more complex and ingrained. One of the unique characteristics of the American society is the very fact of its heterogeneity which can be used for victimization and stratification by race and sex.

I think we have special obligations concerning the conditions of coalition formations. I feel very strongly that intellectuals have had, in the past, important roles to play in revolution. I think there is very little understanding, however, of the roles of intellectuals and ideas in modern forms of revolution and in social change in modern systems. I think there is very little understanding of that. I think there is little understanding of the inter connection between social structure and personality situations. One of the advantages of working in the context of practical requirements, hardnosed business executives, is that one cannot become compartmentalized. In the context of complex organizational theory, the interconnections of culture, social structure

and personality should certainly be examined. I think we have to make some very radical reorientation of theory because we are still very seriously hung up on individual competitiveness and individual responsibility. Furthermore, race relations theory, that is racial-ethnic stratification under conditions of economic decline, especially in American social theory, is something that is very primitive.

Now with regard to modern racism and sexism, the subtleties of modern racism and sexism need to be identified in terms of the specific behaviors, structural arrangements and processes which contribute in equity in our work systems. I'm not suggesting that the understanding of the roles or ideologies, attitudinal and other more blatant discriminatory factors needs to be neglected. I'm only suggesting here that they have taken new forms, new rationales; and to identify the extremely sophisticated, as well as, the apparently benign arrangements and processes by which these inequities are maintained needs to be brought to the surface and recognized.

Mr. Shapiro: It might be useful to social scientists to know, as I learned working on the Hill, that a lot of behavioral science literature comes in, and is ignored because it is too voluminous. As managers we don't read it because it never gets to the point in terms of our impressions. This may sound intellectual and hostile, but I think it is the real world. So I would suggest that the faster we get to the point, the more likely it is that our point is going to be used.

Dr. Chesler: I don't think there is a need for a research agenda. I think that there is a need for an action agenda. I think we know what we need to know on issues of racism and sexism to re-shape the nature of this society and the lives we live. I think we know far more than we've been able to put into practice, adopt in our own lives and pass on to other people. I don't think the need is for a research agenda. We know enough. What we do in the academy is submit what wisdom we have to the criteria of proof and the necessity of publication. We now have far more wisdom. I don't mean that only we in the academy have it. We as managers, we as workers, and caring-wise people throughout the society, know more than we've been able to put into practice. That may lead us to say that what we need to do is do research on how to put what we know into practice, but that's a conundrum. That's just as untrue as arguing that there are frontiers of knowledge. There are of course frontiers of knowledge but they are no longer critical ones. We know what we need to know. I think what the agenda should be is an agenda for action; an agenda for organizing and exerting power in the interest of change; and of course as always doing reflective, thoughtful reconsideration of our actions.

However, if there are moneys and people who want to spend money on research, I think there are four or five tactical issues that would be useful to invest in. One is that we need to understand better how to disestablish white male hegemonies, how to understand the links, lines, stress cracks in the concrete of ruling elite power in the academy as well as in the polity at large.

Secondly, we need to understand and nurture those people in istitutions who are doing affirmative action, EEO work. We need to gather those managers, workers, nettles, thorns in the side of society who are doing that kind of work, bring them together, understand their wisdom, not do a piece of abstract academic research on them, but to collect and share and disseminate the wisdom that is being generated by people who are on the frontier of affirmative action, of the social justice agenda.

Third, we need to do some research on how to stack federal research review committees so that they make the kinds of decisions that will support the kind of action agendas that I think we have a pretty good agreement on as being necessary. I think local experts on that probably include Jim Ralph. That research on how to stack federal review committees leads to the greater possibility of survival for scholars, black and white, male and female, Hispanic and Asian who elect to be on the fringe and whose survival is critical for the generation of new action programs. We certainly need, as Dr. Nishi just suggested, to do more thinking about how we build and sustain coalitions; coalitions across racial lines; coalitions across sex lines; coalitions between wise people and caring people; coalitions between the academy and workers on the streets; coalitions of various of kinds that by the nature of their coalitions multiply the power that is in the hands of any of those partners alone.

And finally we need to do some research on how to work on issues of equity from the vantage point of coalitions built on existing inequity. We know inequity throughout society is the name of the game, and that

partners for the coalition are coming within equitable status at least, if not differential resources and some inequitable status. Then the question of coalition building is crucial.

If I were going to spend money on a research agenda those are the five issues I would focus on. If I had the choice I would not spend money on the research agenda. I think the research agenda is not the important agenda. I think the action agenda is.

Dr. Tirado: First, I want to express my pleasure with Dr. Triandis' chart there because I think it infers an emphasis on experimental and situational factors associated with behavioral relations. And it helps to point out, I think, a crucial concern that I have in terms of the nature of funding today for what has to be done in the future--the question of research that is of a more abstract, basic research nature suited primarily to the academic community and that which is more applied in nature and specifically seeks to address priorities and concerns of practitioners.

I disagree with Mark on the value of research. I believe that, especially when it comes to minority behavior in the workplace, we're still very much in the dark in terms of what the nature of that behavior is, what its interaction is, both behavior and attitude, in terms of workplace experience, labor market experience and behavior of supervisors. We need to do more research on understanding how workers adapt their cultural values and habits to specific workplaces and vice a versa; how supervisors can adapt to the unique values and habits which workers

bring to the workplace. One of the reasons why I believe there has not been more of a focus on applied research change needs of the practitioners is because there has not been a real recognition of a valuable resource not in the academic community; that is the role of minority scholars, who, I believe, come with some very unique attributes. I think Mark referred to the emphasis on the concerns of the academic community for your research versus client population. And I believe that minority scholars are much more attuned to the people who are out there in terms of what their problems are, because we come from that experience. There's always been a tension between our own loyalty to our community for their needs and the pressures that are upon us to perform and succeed in the academic community.

Professor Alderfer also brought out a relevant point with regard to the unique role that minority scholars can play in terms of the importance of personal ethnic background and experience permitting the researcher to embark in an authoritative position in the research project. I think that's a very crucial point and again highlights the significance of minority scholars. And let me add a personal note here. There are increasing numbers of Hispanic scholars, throughout the country, who are struggling with terrific odds against them to do this kind of research. Most of us are doing it on a piece meal basis, doing consulting jobs when we can, studying on consulting contracts with labor unions and corporations. We really need support for the kind of research I'm referring to here, and we're not getting it. From my informal talks with practitioners in the various federal agencies, I hear of the same

thing happening with regard to minority practitioners. They too feel like they're in a disadvantaged situation and they're crying out for the kind of support that they need. Franco Baccus and I had a chance to discuss that in terms of some of the efforts with regard to Hispanic navy personnel, to pull us together. I think it's very critical at this juncture for bridges to be developed between the practitioners who are viewing these problems, who have a very clear sense of the agenda in terms of what needs to be studied, and those of us in the academic community, especially minority scholars, who are very attentive to their needs. I believe the one thing that can come out of this meeting today as far as we're concerned is that the funding facilitators at ONR and NIMH assist us in developing on-going bridges of a formal nature so that we can maintain and have communications between these two oppressed segments of both the academic community and the federal service in order that we can develop relevant research agendas for the eighties relating to the needs of both Hispanic workers in the workplace, public or private sector, and supervisors who have to deal with Hispanic workers on a regular basis.

Dr. Holman: In view of what Dr. Triandis had to say, Miguel, and of course my worthy esteemed colleague to my right, Mark Chesler. I hate to sound too racial, but every time I hear somebody else talk about it, it makes me feel that it's less assertive than I want to believe sometime. My concern in terms of what I am doing now is to look at: 1) the relationships among groups within and without the corporations. It has some relationships with what Harry was talking about. Those lines and means

of communications, up and down, is how that clarity goes into personnel considerations, if you will. The whole idea of Dr. Nishi talking about equity, if you will. That's a real concern I think and I know there has not been a significant amount of work in that area. Those are my concerns and those are the things I am working on currently. Another one has to do with looking at the effects of negative and positive relationships between corporations and significant social pressure groups external to corporations; those battle lines that are out there. Those fears that are out there and the relationships to profit when profit becomes excessive.

My next point has to do with the whole idea of corporate social responsibility. I mean more than just contributions to a given group, segment, community or university. But to what real extent does the American corporation feel a real sense of social responsibility in maintaining the stability of the worker. Detroit is very well known for having more nursing homes than any other city in the country; looks like they do something to their people once they use them up. To look at how much we lose monetarily by doing that as it relates to the quality of work. And here again is an area that I've been concerned with and I think it's more than just contributing some money but to what extent do we begin to send those executives at a corporation to say it's not my corporation, it's your corporation. And there are a lot of folks who have this weird notion that it is their corporation and as Drucker says corporations exist not to make a profit but to serve a customer. I don't care what kind of product they're developing. A lot of corporations

where white males are concerned have big problems with this and say "customer be damned". But I say "cutomer not be damned." One other area has to do with the idea of power brokerage between the public and private sector. Here again I'm talking about corporations looking at beautification, corporations revitalizing communities and corporations bringing people in to revitalize a community after a disavowal of the people in the community. We have a big problem with that in Detroit and nobody has come in from the academies to say "listen fellows, this is how you ought to do it." I know Baltimore's been very successful with this and Detroit has been somewhat successful to the extent it's been beneficial to the upper and middle class. But now those same brothers and sisters who haven't been the recipients are saying "what about us?" I think my colleagues here need to look at their relationship to the federal government as far as the research funding is concerned, to find out how we begin to alleviate the extent of hostility that exists when General Motors says "We're going to buy fifty blocks" and when Chrysler says "We're going to buy fifty blocks" they're going to buy fifty blocks to build a new Cadillac plant. And people are saying "Hey, but what happens to me?"

The last one has to do with, and I think this is very, very crucial here, the whole idea of coalition building. There are groups that I have had contact with being a corporate person external to the corporation who just doesn't trust the corporation and the corporation does not trust them and now they are not even communicating. I've been looking at the literature in terms of what people have done in this area, and I don't

see it. And I see a retrenchment there which I think is going to be very, very potentially dangerous. So, those are the kinds of issues I'm talking about. I think they have a lot to do with action-oriented kinds of things, but I'm going to be doing some work and I'd like to share what I'm doing with some folks around the table and even some practitioners.

Dr. Katz: I agree with Miguel's point that we don't exactly know all there is to know about the workplace experiences of minorities. And I would suggest that one of the new data bases that is now being developed and which in part economists are particularly involved in creating, is firm-specific data. Namely, looking inside particular firms and observing how people move to particular jobs in that firm; how they're paid; how their salary structures differ; how salary structure differs by racial and sexual category, etc. Now, some of that data was precipitated largely by EEOC activity. For example, I always look back at the AT&T case as being a landmark in generating firm-specific data. Now, it seems to me that more recently economists have begun to generate a lot of data which looks inside particular firms; not just AT&T; not just firms in the private sector; not just union or non-union firms; but a whole host of firms. I would suggest for a lot of us that firm-specific data is a useful resource. We might not like what a lot of our economist friends are doing with the data, but I wouldn't throw out the data when you throw out what they're doing with it. I would say that's a useful resource that we could use either for research or for advocacy.

A last point I'd like to make is that I agree with Dr. Nishi that a lot of these issues are now becoming issues of international trade. In particular, I would argue that we've got to look at the structure of labor markets and how they're evolving in the United States. For private sector firms the choice is now becoming whether we use undocumented aliens to produce in the U.S. or whether we produce in Mexico and overseas. And a lot of these questions about ethnic diversity and ethnic mobility are really becoming questions about international trade, the location of firms, and in particular, social policy regarding immigration. We have just got to address that question.

Dr. Alderfer: I have essentially six statements that identify the kinds of research we need to do.

The first is research that's aimed at better theories of change. The particular criteria that I would use is that the theories reflect an understanding of the dynamics of change processes and force, support and encourage closing the gap between people who call themselves practitioners and people who call themselves researchers. One way to do that of course is to get more practitioners involved in situations like this. But I think if there is a contribution to be made by intellectual work in this area, there's got to be more hard-headed, frank, sustained discussion among people who belong to the various groups. In this case the groups are academics and practitioners. I was reflecting at the coffee break that this is one of the few places I can come and be seen as an academic. It's true here and that's the way it is.

My second statement is to use what we know to develop better ways to discriminate among training programs for systems change. There are a great number of consulting firms and universities that purport to train people for change. Most of them are not worth much. Some of them are very good. Some of them can be supported. I think one criteria among many would be to observe and discover those that are indeed multi-cultural in their design and application, and to help those that have those qualities to be better at what they're doing, or to survive, depending on what purpose is served.

My third statement is, support research that addresses the tensions within social science methodology, and the implications for the control of the behavior of social scientists. My own judgment based on observation and experience, is that methodology is where the behavior of social scientists initially developed and eventually shaped. So if we want to make an intervention into the system of social sciences we make it in the way people are trained to handle methodology. I think I'm saying something in a slightly different way, that's in the spirit of what other people have said, but perhaps not.

My fourth statement is, sponsor a conference on the university of Inhumane Social Systems. I would call it that, and I would be happy to be a participant-leader or whatever in that endeavor. I think it's important to address three facets of that: The first, is how this inhumanity affects the teaching and learning process, because that's one place where it shows up. Secondly, how it affects the administrative process, because it shows up there in spades. And third, how it affects research; the research that's

done; the problems that are selected; they way the problems are studied; the norms that they...if you publish cooperatively both people lose, for instance. There's an extraordinary force in the academic world that says the kinds of things the have multicultural tunes, which is one of the areas I've worked in. Somebody is going to lose, if not everybody for working that way and yet that, from my judgment, is what it takes to make some advances in knowledge.

Fifth, recognize that much research is wrong while much is right. And so there are research reviews, if you will, not as they are currently done to establish what the methodology is, but which pay greater attention to findings. I think we need to look at what is the substance as to whether we pay attention to findings.

And finally, the presence of mechanisms of self-reflection in the research processes as a criteria for selecting what to support and what not to support when your processes operate to decide who should be funded and who should not.

Mr. Shapiro: I'd like to make a couple remarks and then open up the panel for discussion. My remarks are based on what is now six years as a manager/grants administrator of a research program that purports to fund research on institutional and white racism. During that period I guess we have funded approximately a million and a half dollars worth of such activity in one form or another. As Mark indicated earlier, the difficulty at NIMH in getting such applications approved and then funded--in which one variable is the fact that there's been so little. And the

other variable has been the difficulty in getting the academy to submit applications. My own feeling is that if we had gotten ten times the number of applications we would have five times the number of grants currently supported. The lack of volume has made it easy for the review process to squelch the few proposals that we have received. So in a sense I'm inviting the academy, and I have to reflect on the fact that when we first announced this program some seven years ago, I received several hundred phone calls from institutions across the nation as prestigious as the Wharton School, and MIT, and Harvard and Yale, and Stanford and so on, and when I described in dialogue, in phone conversations with the various academics, what we were interested in doing, I was advised that one we can't do that; and two, we don't know how to do that; and three, we don't believe you want to do that. I think that tends to sum up the kinds of responses that we received.

My frustration has been that apparently because I am too narrow minded, simplistic, goal-oriented from a very narrow perspective on the issue of how one accomplishes change in dealing with institutional racism, I find that...Mark says that we know enough, we know how to do it. Perhaps we do, but I'm not sure we're applying what we know in any way. And maybe what we know is a dilemma. But I would hope that if I leave this program, and if it continues, we will see more of the kinds of very focused, applied research (because I think that's what my value system really says is needed) that tends to look at how the research process itself can be a part of the change process. And I think the distance that academics take, representatives of the academy take, from their research has been a

factor in the fact that we do not get the kinds of proposals we need. Now I recognize that to initiate proposals of this kind is not acceptable in the value systems of most universities. But then to try to fund a program of this kind is not acceptable in the value system of NIMH. So that the risks that we take inside the system, we are requesting others to take outside the system. If we choose not to take those risks, then we aren't going to be funded. We can all be on the cutting edge of the real research that needs to be done. So I would hope we could get, added to the research agenda, more ideas on how we can develop intervention research from a variety of perspectives beyond that which we have thought of today.

LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

Clayton Alderfer, Ph.D.
Yale University
School of Organization & Management
New Haven, Connecticutt 06520

Cynthia H. Chertos, Ph.D.
University of Michigan
Center for Research on Social Organization
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Mark A. Chesler, Ph.D.
University of Michigan
3012 Literature, Science & Arts Bldg.
Ann Arbor, Michigan 48104

Freda Cheung, Ph.D.
National Institute of Mental Health
Center for Minority Group
Mental Health Programs
Rockville, Maryland 20857

John F. Coffey
CZA Incorporated
Box 6288
Washington, D.C. 20015

Fluornoy A. Coles, Jr., Ph.D.
Booker T. Washington Foundation
2000 K Street, N.W., Suite 700
Washington, D.C. 20006

Denise Dill
Alcohol, Drug Abuse
and Mental Health Administration
Rockville, Maryland 20857

Commander Wilson W. Elliott
Department of the Navy - NMPC 62
Washington, D.C. 20350

Jane Hammond, Ph.D.
Maryland State Department
of Equal Opportunity
200 West Baltimore Street
Baltimore, Maryland 21201

V. Robert Hayles, Ph.D.
Office of Naval Research
Organizational Effectiveness Research
Programs
Arlington, Virginia 22217

Forest H. Holman, Ph.D.
Michigan Consolidated Gas
18427 Wildemere
Detroit, Michigan 48221

Florence Katz
Equal Opportunity Division Code NMPC 613
Department of the Navy
Washington, D.C. 20370

Harry Katz, Ph.D.
Sloane School of Management
Massachusetts Institute of Technology
Cambridge, Massachusetts 02139

Richard Lopez, Ph.D.
National Institute of Mental Health
Center for Minority Group
Mental Health Programs
Rockville, Maryland 20857

Kenneth Lutterman
Division of Biometry and Epidemiology
National Institute of Mental Health
Rockville, Maryland 20857

Eugene S. Mornell
US Commission on Civil Rights
1121 Vermont Avenue, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20425

Tressie W. Muldrow, Ph.D.
Office of Personnel Management
1900 E Street, N.W.
Washington, D.C. 20415

Sandra Mumford
Navy Military Personnel Command-623
Department of the Navy
Washington, D.C. 20350

Setsuko Nishi, Ph.D.
Private consultant
New York, New York

Captain Joe O'Brien
Headquarters, Troop Command
Walter Reed Army Hospital
Washington, D.C. 20012

Richard W. Parkins
Private consultant
Washington, D.C.

CZA Incorporated

James R. Ralph, M.D.
National Institute of Mental Health
Center for Minority Group
Mental Health Programs
Rockville, Maryland 20857

Exequiel R. Seville, Jr.
Human Sciences Research, Inc.
7710 Olde Spring Road
McLean, Virginia 22102

Richard M. Shapiro
National Institute of Mental Health
Center for Minority Group
Mental Health Programs
Rockville, Maryland 20857

Percy W. Thomas, Ph.D.
National Institute of Mental Health
Staff College
Rockville, Maryland 20853

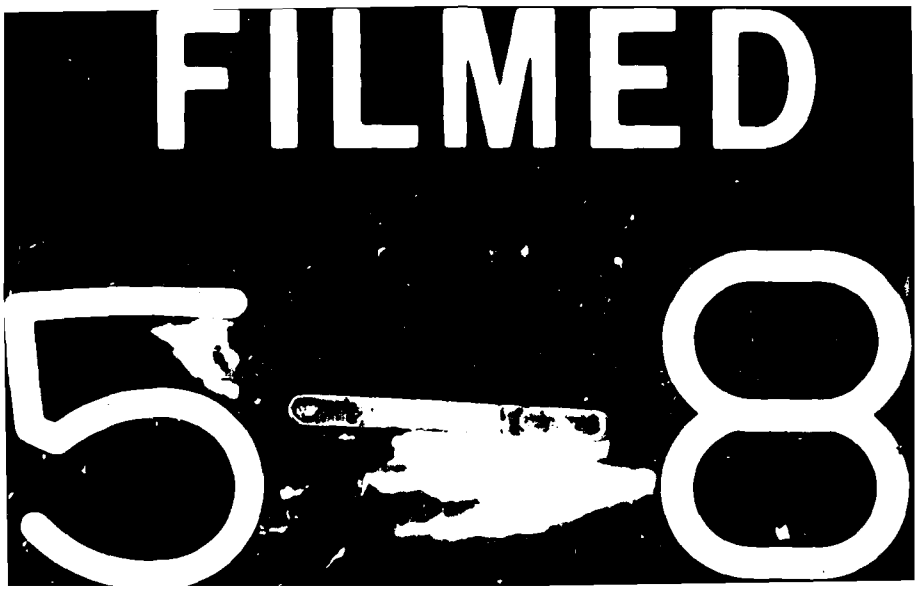
Richard Thomas, Ph.D.
Michigan State University
Department of Racial & Ethnic Studies
East Lansing, Michigan 48823

Miguel Tirado, Ph.D.
San Jose State University
School of Business
San Jose, California 95112

Harry C. Triandis, Ph.D.
University of Illinois at Champaign
Department of Psychology
Champaign, Illinois 61820

Lt. Col. Amilcar Vazquez
Assistant DASN (EO)
Department of the Navy
Washington, D.C. 20350

Pamela Wilmore, MSW
CZA Inc.
Box 6288
Washington, D.C. 20015


FILMED
58